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TRANSACTIONS.

JANUARY, 1895, TO JUNE, 1896.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

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THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JOURNAL OF THE THIRD SESSION.

January to June, 1895.

JANUARY MEETING.

On Monday, the 21st, Mr. A. H. Huth in the Chair, Mr. H. R. Plomer read a Paper on *Robert Wyer.*

Mr. Wyer's paper will be printed in due course, but is being held back at present in the hope that some additions may be made to the bibliography. The usual abridgment is, therefore, here printed.

SUMMARY.—Robert Wyer was a printer of popular literature. The few biographical facts known about him are, that he carried on the business of a printer and bookseller at the sign of the St. John the Evangelist, at Charing Cross; that he settled there about the year 1530; and that there are evidences of his being at work there in 1556.

Up to 1536 the house in which Wyer printed was part of the rental of Norwich House, hence the allusion to the Bishop of Norwich's Rentes in Wyer's colophons. In the year 1536, Norwich House passed into the

hands of the "Duke of Suffolk," and this change of landlords is also noted by Wyer. In studying his work it is important to bear this change of address in mind.

No less than one hundred books can be traced to Wyer, and copies of fifty of these are in the British Museum, the Bodleian has four or five not to be found in other collections, while the University Library at Cambridge and the Lambeth Library have valuable specimens of his work.

The main difficulty in judging Wyer's work is his undated books. Out of the number recorded above, only eleven bear any date, and not all of these are dates of printing, while of this small number only five or six are within the reach of the student. Thus to classify the undated books of this printer is no light task, nor are the methods adopted by the late William Blades in his *Life of Caxton*, easily followed by one who has not a technical knowledge of the printer's art. Briefly stated, however, the results of my investigations are as follows :—

Wyer's books may be divided into four broad classes.

1. Those with the Norwich colophon, printed before 1537.
2. Those with the Suffolk colophon, printed after 1536.
3. Those printed for other printers.
4. Miscellaneous books giving no clue to date of printing.

Those having the Norwich colophon and bearing date are with one exception printed in "Secretary" type. The undated books with this colophon have the same characteristics.

The books with the Suffolk colophon cover a wide space of time, from 1536 to 1556; but there is not a single book known with this colophon with a date. But there are books with dates subsequent to 1536, and others the dates of which can be fixed by internal evidence. A close study of the books of this period shows that the "Secretary" type continued in use for

the body of books down to 1542, after which "Black Letter" was substituted, and the "Secretary" used only for supplementary matter.

One or two books of Wyer's show that he printed with other men's type, and had books printed for him by other printers. On the other hand he did a great deal of work for his brother craftsmen, notably Richard Banckes.

Wyer had several founts of type, some of them good, notably a Great Primer which he used for the first lines of titles and colophons, etc. He had also several sets of initial letters, one at least of which he copied from Wynkyn de Worde, if they were not some of the same set.

One work of his, the *C. Hystoryes of Troy*, is profusely illustrated and shows very great enterprise on the part of the printer, if not much artistic skill. His full-page device, which is the best example his works show of wood engraving, was probably foreign.

There were three other printers or booksellers of the same name in London in the sixteenth century; but the books having their names are found to be printed with the types and blocks of Robert Wyer. The most important of the three, Nicholas Wyer, seems to have carried on the business after 1556, and to have been subsequently joined by Thomas Colwell.

Wyer's work took in many branches of literature, notably theology and medicine. Many of his publications were tracts of a few pages, easily saleable, and their nature reflects the grossly superstitious character of the people.

Some, however, such as Marshall's *Defence of Peace*, a folio, and the *C. Hystoryes of Troy*, were evidently meant to attract the attention of more wealthy readers.

If he had done no more than print these two books, he would deserve a place amongst the first printers of his day. But the large amount of popular literature he issued is a still stronger title to the notice of bibliographers.

FEBRUARY, MARCH AND MAY MEETINGS.

On Monday, February 18th, the President in the Chair, Mr. G. F. Barwick read a paper on *The Lutheran Press at Wittenberg.*

On March 18th, Mr. Huth in the Chair, Mr. F. A. Hyett read a paper on *County Bibliographies, suggestions for increasing their number and utility.*

The third Monday in April falling on Easter Monday, no Meeting was held that month.

On May 20th, Mr. Wheatley in the Chair, two papers were read, the first by Mr. E. F. Strange on *The Writing-Books of the Sixteenth Century;* the second by Mr. G. R. Redgrave on *Some early Book-Illustrations of the Oppenheim Press.* These papers, with those by Mr. Barwick and Mr. Hyett, are printed in full in the present volume.

JUNE MEETING.

On Monday, June 17th, the President in the Chair, Mr. Faber read a paper (for which he had also kindly acted as literary reviser), by Dr. Konrad Haebler, on *The Native Printers in Spain in the Fifteenth Century.*

This paper will be incorporated with the similar treatise on the German printers in Spain during the fifteenth century, published in German by Dr. Haebler in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* and the complete work, which will thus include a history of printing in Spain up to 1500 and a little beyond, with a list of all the known incunabula, will be issued as No. 4 of the Society's Illustrated Monographs. A work of so much importance, and so greatly needed, will require some time to prepare, but it is hoped that it will be ready for issue early in 1896. In the meanwhile the following summary is given of the part of the paper read to the Society at this meeting, though no abridgment can do justice to a paper itself so full of facts.

SUMMARY—.Among the forty-seven names of printers occurring in books printed in Spain in the fifteenth century, only sixteen are Spanish, and probably several of their owners were rather publishers than themselves masters of the art. One such case is that of Matthew Vendrell, whose name is found in two books printed respectively at Gerona in 1483, and at Barcelona in 1484, and whom we must not identify with the Matthew of Flanders, who printed at Saragoza. Jaime de Vila, also, does not claim to have printed the books published by him at Valencia between 1493-95. They were probably all printed for him by Peter Hagenbach and Leonard Hutz. It is probable, again, that where we find Spaniards and Germans mentioned together, the former were sometimes only the publishers, as was most likely the case with Gabriel Luis de Arinyo. We have probably another instance in Alfonso Fernandez de Cordoba, who, in conjunction with Lambert Palmart, produced at Valencia, between February 1477 and March 1478, a Catalan Bible, of which no perfect copy is now known. The theory, moreover, which attributes to these partners the three earliest Spanish books, all in Roman letter, rests on no firm evidence. On the other hand, in Lupus Sanz de Navarra, who was associated with Leonard Hutz at Valencia in 1496, we must acknowledge a real printer, and in Pere Posa we have an example of a Spaniard who printed both in partnership with a German, and on his own account, working at Barcelona in 1481-82, again from 1488-91, and again from 1494 to the end of the century, and again after 1517. He was probably connected with the Peter Michael, who printed at Barcelona from 1483 to 1488, an explanation being thus found for his apparent disappearance during these years.

Diego de Gumiel, another Spanish printer, also worked at Barcelona from 1494 to 1499. By 1500 he returned to his native Castile and printed six books at Valladolid between 1503 and 1512 and in 1515 three in Valencia.

In John of Burgos, who began printing at Burgos in 1490, we have an excellent craftsman. By 1499, he had printed nine books, eight of them

at his own expense. In 1500 and 1501, he printed four books at Valladolid, and then returned to Burgos, where he seems to have died after printing only one other work.

We find other Spanish printers in various towns, but their activity is mostly shortlived. Thus Antonio de Centenera introduced printing into Zamora in 1482, and after printing eight or nine books disappears by 1490. Nicholas Calafat printed two books in the island of Mallorca, the only two produced there for more than a century. The first printers at Toledo were native Spaniards, Juan Vazquez printing some letters of indulgence and three or four books there in or about 1486, and Juan Tellez printing two books in 1494 and 1495. At Seville also an ephemeral native press preceded the establishment of printing by the Germans, the *Repertorium* of Montalvo, printed in 1477 by Antonio Martinez, Alphonso Del Puerto and Bart. Segura, being undoubtedly the first book printed there, though the edition of the *Sacramental* of Sanchez de Vercial in Roman letter, *s. l. et a.*, which Salvá would assign to Toulouse, has wrongly been allowed to usurp its place. Only six books, however, were printed at Seville during the period of more than ten years before the arrival of the German printers, who speedily made the city the centre of printing in Spain.

Of the forty-nine books printed at Salamanca in the fifteenth century only three bear the names of their producers, two being executed by Leonard Hutz (who was working at this city for some time between 1495 and 1500) and Lupus Sanz, and the third by, or for, Juan de Porras, a celebrated bookseller. The introduction of printing into the city was due to Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis, the famous orator and grammarian, who was one of the first authors in Spain to make use of copyright. Among those who contributed to the propagation of his works was Arnald Guillen de Brocar, who is often spoken of as a German, but was probably a native of Brochard, in the South of France. The total number of books known to have been printed by him is ninety-two, but of these only sixteen belong to the fifteenth century.

Carlos Amoros, whom Hain chronicles as a printer of an edition of Ximenes *De Amore Dei* before 1500, really belonged to the next century, and the *Ordenancas Reales* attributed in the catalogue of the Columbian Exhibition at Madrid to Huete, 1484, were really only promulgated there in that year, being the work and bearing the surname of Castro, a well-known printer who worked at Salamanca and Medina del Campo about 1540. His work has a very antique appearance, which accounts for the curious blunder in antedating the edition by more than half a century.

After the passing of the usual votes of thanks to Dr. Haebler and Mr. Faber, a resolution was moved from the Chair by Dr. Copinger, seconded by Mr. Welch and carried unanimously, expressing the cordial sympathy of the Society with the efforts which the Meeting was informed were being made to preserve the unique philological library of the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte intact for the use of students. The Society then adjourned for the usual summer recess.

THE LUTHERAN PRESS AT WITTENBERG.

By G. F. BARWICK.

Read February 18th, 1895.

BEFORE submitting to you a few details respecting the Wittenberg printers, I wish to call your attention to the following points :—

(1.) A rough estimate of the number of Luther's separate works printed at Wittenberg during his lifetime, gives a result of rather over 500, and as most of them appeared there more than once and many of them several times, the number of editions which appeared at Wittenberg during that period cannot be estimated at less than 1,200. In 1522 alone Luther published 130 treatises, and followed on the next year with eighty-three. If we now add the reprints made in various parts of Germany, the total reaches about 3,500. Weller's list of German books published up to 1526, which, as far as Luther is concerned, is by no means complete, credits him with 267 separate items and 640 editions, which confirms the foregoing estimate in the proportions which it establishes.

(2.) In going through a large collection of Luther's treatises, we cannot fail to be struck with the numerous varieties of type, with the comparatively small number which bear a printer's

name, and with the large number which bear the statement *Zu Wittemberg* or *gedruckt zu Wittemberg*. This statement is absolutely untrustworthy by itself, and later on I will give you Luther's own words on the subject; but it should be borne in mind as a matter of the greatest importance in dealing with Luther, either from a religious, literary, or bibliographical point of view. I may add that, although I have found this statement in books of undoubted South German type, I do not remember to have seen an instance in which the name of the printer was reproduced as well. To ascertain the printers of Lutheran pamphlets without imprint and produced beyond Wittenberg is a matter of great difficulty, and a task from which even Panzer and Weller have shrunk. An enthusiast with a good camera might do something towards it.

(3.) Luther's pamphlets are particularly remarkable for the frequent occurrence of borders on their title pages, many of them very elegant and striking in design. By the liberality of the Council, I have been enabled to have half a dozen of them reproduced as specimens, and I shall mention them more particularly under the printers to whom they belong.

I now come to the printers who were working at Wittenberg during Luther's life-time. They are the following, arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order:—

1. Johann Grunenberg.
2. Melchior Lotter, usually called the Younger.
3. Michael Lotter.
4. Nicholas Schirlentz.
5. Georg Rhau.
6. Hans Lufft.
7. Hans Weiss.

8. Joseph Klug.
9. Hanns Bart.
10. Peter Seitz.
11. Hans Frischmuth.
12. Veit Creutzer.

GRUNENBERG.

The first book which Luther issued was a small 4to of 14 leaves, entitled, *Eyn geystlich edles Buchleynn von rechter underscheyd und vorstand was der alt uñ new mensche sey*, "An excellent spiritual treatise of the right discrimination and understanding of the nature of the old and new man." The authorship was not claimed by Luther, who states in his preface that the author is unknown, but that in his opinion the style is that of Johann Tauler. The colophon of this book states that it was printed at Wittenberg by Johann Grunenberg in the year 1516, on St. Barbara's Day, in the "Augustinian Monastery."

This Johann Grunenberg, or Viridimontanus, as he calls himself in Latin books, was apparently born at Grunberg, a town in the Silesian Province of Glogau. And there is every reason to believe that he was a near relative of Nicolaus Grunberg or Viridimontanus, who was Rector of the University of Wittenberg in 1508, the year in which Luther took his degree of Bachelor of Theology. His press was in the Augustinian Cloister, in the very building in which Luther lived while he was a member of the order, and in which he continued to reside, in a condition of absolute penury, for a considerable time after the monastery was dissolved.

It has not yet been determined who printed the first edition of the famous 95 *Theses* in 1517*; but in the following year Grunenberg certainly

* Since this paper was written I have been informed by Dr. Luther, of the Royal Library, Berlin, that he has shown in the "Festzeitung zur Qoojährigen Jubelfeier der Universität Halle," that the first edition of the 95 Theses was printed by Melchior Lotter, at Leipzig. Dr. Luther is engaged upon an exhaustive bibliography of the Lotters of Leipzig, Magdeburg and Wittenberg.

Copia einer Missi-
ue/ so D. M. Luther nach seynem ab-
scheydt zu Wormbs tzurugk ann
die Churfürsten/ Fürsten/ vñ
Stēde des heyligen Kö-
mischen Reychs da
selbest versamlet
geschrieben
hat.

Eyn Sermon von dem Wucher
Doctoris Martini Luther
Augustiner zu Wittenberg.

printed Luther's celebrated *Appeal to a General Council*, in the form of a broadside folio, and also four or five minor pamphlets. During the following five years he continued to print various treatises by Luther, especially those directed against Emser. We have nothing printed by him after 1522, and the fact that the Cloister was now almost deserted, and that only two years later, its prior, Eberhard Brissger, formally surrendered it to the Elector, sufficiently accounts for his disappearance.

We here reproduce two of Grunenberg's title pages. The border of the first is a well-known one, and occurs in numerous different works. The second, with its figure of a regular Shylock, knife and all, saying "pay or give interest for I want to make profit," was evidently cut for "A sermon concerning usury."

Melchior Lotter, the Younger.

Melchior Lotter, the Younger, was the son of Melchior Lotter the well-known printer of Leipzig. Of his arrival in Wittenberg, Luther writes to Spalatin, under date of Ash Wednesday, 1519: "Melchior Lotter has just come to us; he is furnished with the best matrixes of type which he has procured from Fabrenius, and he is ready to establish a printing office amongst us," and he then goes on to ask Spalatin to use his influence to obtain the necessary permission. The Fabrenius mentioned in this letter was a celebrated Leipzig typefounder. It would also appear from this letter of Luther's that Lotter was furnished with Greek type, of which there was just then great need at Wittenberg, for he says that Melanchthon was there and was most solicitous about the printing of Greek. The privilege was granted, and Luther wrote at the end of the year in great glee to Johann Langen, "Lotter of Leipzig is now setting up a press here for printing in three languages," namely, German, Latin and Greek. Early in the following year Lotter printed numerous works by Luther, and in 1521 he issued the *Clouds* of Aristophanes in Greek. In 1522 he printed the two folio editions of Luther's New Testament. Of this edition, Luther writing to

Das Jhesus Christus eyn geborner Jude sey.

Doctor Martinus Luther.

Wuittemberg.
M. D. xxiij.

Spalatin on the 26th July, says: "You have now only the half; eighteen sheets still remain, and the work will not be finished before Michaelmas, notwithstanding that they are printing *ten thousand pages* daily with three presses, and with great zeal and labour.' This shows how large the edition was, and how great must have been the destruction of copies, seeing that they are now so scarce. Until Hans Lufft set up a press in his own name, that is to say until 1525, the printing of Luther's translations of the Bible in various portions, as they appeared, was almost entirely executed by Melchior Lotter. From Lotter's press appeared in 1523, the Books of Moses and the historical Books from *Joshua* to *Esther*. In 1524, appeared the Book of *Job*, the *Psalms*, according to Luther's first translation, the Book of *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Song of Solomon*. In 1525, Melchior Lotter returned to Leipzig to continue his father's press there, and left his younger brother, Michael, who had recently joined him, to carry on the work at Wittenberg. He printed a few books for Luther from 1525 to 1529, when he went to Magdeburg and established a new press there.

The title page here reproduced has a border of charming design, and the arrangement of the title, which is, be it noticed, entirely in one fount, is such as to satisfy the most fastidious taste. The vividness with which the head is brought out from the foliage is admirable, and the figures of the monk and nun harmonize with the other ornamentation in a remarkable manner. This was a very favourite border with Lotter, and appears again and again in his books, but I have no information as to the artist.

SCHIRLENTZ.

Of Nicholas Schirlentz I can say nothing except that he printed a large number of Luther's pamphlets, from 1521 until Luther's death. His type is good and bears considerable resemblance to Lotter's, as may be seen by comparing Luther's name and the imprint in the two specimens. He may possibly have been one of the "poor printers" alluded to by Luther in his letter from Coburg to Nicholas Hausmann in 1521, about which I shall have something to say later on.

Auff das Ver=
meint Keiserlich Edict/
Ausgangen jm 1 5 3 1 jare/
nach dem Reichs tage
des 1 5 3 0 jars.
Glosa.
D. Mart. Luthers.
Wittemberg.
D D XXXI.

c

This elegant border, which is generally attributed to Cranach, represents in the bottom panel three couples preparing to dance, and two musicians on the left. In the right middle panel is the execution of John the Baptist, and in the left is the daughter of Herodias carrying away the head in a charger. At the top are King Herod and his Queen sitting at table and an attendant is in the act of bringing in the dishes. It will be noticed that the King is refreshing himself with a goblet in the interval.

RHAU.

Georg Rhau, the brother of Johann Rhau, a deacon of Wittenberg, was born in 1488. He devoted himself to theology and printing, and was likewise a musician of no mean skill. He was for some time choir-master at the church of St. Thomas, in Leipzig, and doubtless worked in Lotter's printing house in that town, for his types, and the manner in which he set them up, bear a considerable resemblance to Lotter's. Indeed there is a remarkable similarity in these respects in the four great Wittenberg printers, Lotter, Schirlentz, Rhau and Lufft.

Rhau came to Wittenberg about 1520, and commenced printing for Luther in the following year. He printed a considerable number of the larger and more important of Luther's works, such as the expositions upon Genesis and upon the Gospels, and, most important of all, the first edition of the *Greater Catechism*, which appeared in 1529. Rhau continued to print various important works in theology, arithmetic and music, until his death in 1548. Wittenberg showed due appreciation of him by making him a town councillor, and he is always spoken of as a generous, high-minded man, and a notable favourite among the Wittenberg scholars.

The border here reproduced is by Lucas Cranach, whose initials occur in the middle on the right. It represents David about to cut off the head of Goliath; on the left is seen the sling lying on the ground with some appropriately gigantic pebbles, and at the back are some warriors looking on with languid but rather amused interest,

Ein Christlicher schöner trost jnn allerley leiden vnd trübsal/ aus dem Achten Cap. zum Römern/ sampt der auslegung des Euangelion auff den Vierden Sontag nach Trinitatis/ gepredigt durch
D. Mart. Luth.
Anno. 1535.
Wittemberg.

LUFFT.

Hans Lufft was born about 1495, most probably in Brandenburg, and the first mention of him occurs in a letter from Luther to Spalatin in 1524, in which he says that the Prior of the Augustinian Monastery, at Wittenberg, is sending Hans Lufft, the calcotyper or type-setter, to obtain some outstanding rents due to the Monastery from Christopher Bressen. It was in this very year, 1524, that Luther and the Prior (Eberhard Brissger) left the cloister and delivered up the building, with all its belongings, to the Elector Frederick, and Hanns Lufft's employment in the monastery, where he acted as type-setter, steward and rent collector, necessarily ceased. It will be remembered that in 1525 Melchior Lotter took up his father's press in Leipzig, and was succeeded in Wittenberg by his brother Michael, and about this time Lufft, secure of support from Luther, set up a press on his own account, and issued in that year Luther's German Psalter in the Low Saxon dialect. From this time onward he continued to print for Luther, and, in addition to producing a very large number of Luther's minor works, enjoyed practically the monopoly of his biblical work. In 1534 appeared the first complete Bible with Lufft's name on the title-page; and as Luther continued to revise his translation, so Lufft continued to print fresh editions. In all he printed at least ten editions before Luther's death in 1546, and during the 40 years, from 1534 to 1574, about 100,000 Bibles came from his press; for Crellius, writing in 1574, say "Hans Lufft is still alive, and is about 80 years old; he has certainly completed in his printing house close upon 100,000 of Luther's Bibles between 1534 and the present time, and maintains constantly that since Luther's death he has never, to his knowledge, falsified or altered a single syllable, still less a word or a sentence, and that his printers were bound to follow the copy which Luther himself corrected, as late as 1545, and which Rörer ordered to be printed." The same remarks as to accuracy in printing the text apply to the very numerous editions of the Psalter and of the New Testament which Lufft issued. The books from his press are remarkable

for the blackness and clearness of the type, as well as for the quality of the paper, which is far superior to that used by his contemporaries at Wittenberg. They are also unusually free from misprints, for he obtained the services of really able men, such as Caspar Cruciger, Georg Rörer and Christoph Walther, to read the proof sheets. Lufft appears to have been a man of lively disposition, and it is said that he annually commemorated the printing of the Bible, by giving a dinner on Maunday Thursday, at which he made a point of taking an extra quantity of liquor, in order, as he said, to quench the flame in which he was being burnt at Rome; alluding, of course, to the spiritual flame to which, as a printer of heretical books, he was condemned by the Bull *In Cœna Domini* annually promulgated on that day. To Hans Lufft also is attributed the introduction of the custom of paying the working printers for the Saints' days and other holidays, which they were compelled to take previously at their own expense.

The titlepage reproduced shows one of the rarest of Cranach's borders. It is known as the man at the key-board, and occurs in two books only: the present one, *Von den Jüden und ihren Lügen*, and the *Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi*, published in the previous year.

The remaining five printers, Weiss, Klug, Bart, Seitz, Frischmuth and Creutzer, produced a comparatively small number of Luther's treatises among them, and in fact Bart and Frischmuth appear to have printed only one each. Klug was by far the most important among them, and used some remarkably good borders for his books, especially one representing trees and deer. He printed from 1525, and probably perished in the plague which ravaged at Wittenberg in 1552.

I will now call your attention for a few minutes to Luther's personal relations with his publishers. With respect to the pecuniary profit which Luther derived from his books, Froude says, in his *Short Biography of Luther*, "The publishers made fortunes out of his writings, but he never received a florin from them." It does not, however, seem to have been

Von den Jüden vnd jren Lügen.

D. M. Luth.

Gedrückt zu Wittemberg / Durch Hans Lufft.

M. D. XLIII.

Luther's opinion that they were making an undue profit, for he says, writing to Wenceslaus Linck, 5 July, 1527, "Tell Nicholas Eudris to make bold to ask me for copies of any of my books. For though I am badly enough off for money, yet I make use of my right (though sparingly) with the printers, and as I do not receive anything for my varied labour, I sometimes carry off a copy when I want it. This, I think, is due to me, when other writers, and even translators, receive a certain sum per sheet." In the British Museum there is a copy of the *Etliche Schöne Predigten aus der esten Epistel S. Johannis*, which was doubtless thus carried off by Luther for his friend Dr. Hess, for it contains the MS. note on the title-page, "Diesse Predigē hab ich Doctor Hess selbs geholtth von Doctor Martino, do ich zw Wittēbergk ware, Anno 1532, Mēse Junio. *These sermons I, Dr. Hess, did myself obtain from Dr. Martin when I was at Wittenberg, in June, 1532.*"

Again, in writing to Nicholas Hausmann on the 25th June, 1530, Luther says, "Notwithstanding that Satan has hindered me for some weeks with a singing in the head, yet I have translated *Jeremiah* into German. *Ezekiel* still remains and I will soon commence him, but I must first, out of charity, give some copy to our poor printers, among which is the *Psalm Confitemini*, which I shall finish in a day or two." This edition of the *Commentary on the 118th Psalm* was published by Hans Lufft in 1530.

Besides the printers there were three Wittenberg publishers, Maurice Goltz, Christopher Schramm, and Bartholomew Vogel, to whom the Elector's privilege for protection of the Wittenberg Bible was granted in 1534. I have found no clue as to the exact relations in which these men, who were booksellers and publishers only, stood towards the printers. Of Vogel, who is described as *Bibliopola et Senator Wittembergæ*, it is distinctly stated that from the very beginning, he, together with others, aided the publication of Luther's writings by contributing to the cost. Bugenhagen the Younger says, in 1569, "Initio una cum aliis scriptorum Reverendi Doctoris Martini Lutheri editionem suis sumtibus adjuvit."

This does not sound as though he had made a fortune out of Luther's writings.

I think there is no evidence whatever that Luther's printers made more than a moderate profit, and we see from Luther's letters that he was constantly watching over and protecting their interests, and setting his friends to work to obtain privileges for them from the Electors. As we have already seen, the great mass of the Wittenberg printing, and what we may call the paying portion, was done by Lufft, and the relations between him and Luther were far too cordial for him to have been amassing a fortune out of Luther's writings.

The persons who really may have made a good profit were the pirates, who printed in the cheapest and nastiest style, and upon very bad paper. From them, of course, the author could obtain no recompense, and he could only warn his readers against them, as he does so vigorously in the preface to the *Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels from the Nativity to Easter*, 1525.

"How comes it, my good master printers, that you rob one another in this manner? Have you become highwaymen and thieves? or do you think you will obtain God's blessings by such malpractices?

"I had just begun these sermons, when in steps a rascal, the compositor who battens upon our labour, and he steals my MS. before I have even time to finish it, and carries it off and sends it to press somewhere in the provinces, thus pressing away our expense and labour. Ah, well! God will perceive it. What you gain in that way will about serve to black your boots with. You are a thief and in God's sight bound to make restitution.

"But the injury would, however, be endurable, if they did not set up my books in such an incorrect and discreditable manner. But they print them off in such a hurry that when they come back I am quite unable to recognise my own works. *Here* is something left out, *there* a substitution,

here an error, *there* a misprint; and they have also learnt the trick of printing Wittenberg upon some books which never appeared at Wittenberg at all! Verily these are knavish tricks to deceive a plain man, seeing that we are making every possible exertion to prevent the issue of useless books. Thus are they driven by greed and envy to deceive folks under our name, and to injure our people.

"It is not at all a likely thing that we shall spend labour and money upon it and that others shall have the profit and we the injury. So let everyone be warned against the Postillæ of the Six Sundays and let them alone. I do not recognise them as mine. For in correcting the proofs I often find it necessary to alter what I have overlooked or stated erroneously in my MS., so that the copy of my MS. is not to be trusted. But if anyone has them in his possession let him correct them according to this copy. Our types are well known, so that it is easy to distinguish the true books from the false ones. As far as I am concerned I should be quite content never to issue another book, for it gives me nothing but trouble and labour. . . .

"Should not one printer, out of Christian charity, allow another a month or two's law before pirating him? . . . Judgment will assuredly overtake you in the future. May God grant improvement in the present. Amen."

I will conclude with Luther's opinion of the art of printing, of which he says, in characteristic language: "It is the highest and ultimate gift whereby God advances the cause of his Gospel; and the final flare-up before the extinction of the world."

COUNTY BIBLIOGRAPHIES: SUGGESTIONS FOR INCREASING THEIR UTILITY.

By F. A. HYETT.

Read March 18th, 1895.

THE subject of my Paper is one in which, from its nature, only a limited interest can be felt. But I venture to think that it has not received as much attention as it deserves. If ever the day arrives when the compilation of a national bibliography is put in hand, its completion will be greatly expedited if many descriptive catalogues of county literature are in existence. Indeed, if every county possessed a comprehensive bibliography, executed on one uniform plan, the editors of the national work would have little to do but eliminate, consolidate and classify.

But at present how little work has been done in this field. Among counties which have done anything, Cornwall stands pre-eminent in point of comprehensiveness. Cambridgeshire, Dorsetshire, Kent, Lancashire and Yorkshire have done good work. Devonshire and Norfolk have done something. Essex, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire have taken the work in hand. Mr. Madan's account of early-printed Oxford books which has just appeared, though a model of its kind, can only be regarded as sectional. But the large majority of counties possess no sort of record of their literature. And the works produced by the counties I have mentioned

are for the most part imperfect, or not up to date. Cambridgeshire and Staffordshire are the only counties possessed of bibliographies which are at once recent and satisfactory. Russell Smith's *Bibliotheca Cantiana*, one of the best of county bibliographies in method and arrangement, was published 58 years ago. The *Bibliotheca Devoniensis* and the *Norfolk Topographers' Manual*, though excellent in some respects, are mere instalments of what such works should be, and both are now more than 40 years old. The *Yorkshire Library* was published in 1869, and the *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis* in 1874. There is, moreover, a wide divergence in the treatment and classification of the books collated by the several authors, as well as in the limits of their respective works.

My object in bringing this subject before you this evening is in the hope that by the direct instrumentality of this Society, or if that is impracticable, then by the influence of its individual members, something may be done towards remedying the defects which I have noticed.

I will ask you to consider the suggestions which I have to make under four heads—

I. How can County Bibliographies be most efficiently compiled?

II. How can uniformity of method be attained?

III. What are the proper limits of a County Bibliography?

IV. How should the works falling within those limits be classified?

I. I have for many years past, in conjunction with a friend (the Rev. William Bazeley, Hon. Sec. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society), been engaged on a Bibliography for the County of Gloucester and the City of Bristol, and the result of my labours has convinced me that it is not a work which should be undertaken by one, or even two, individuals, and that it could be much more readily and thoroughly performed by means of co-operation and organised sub-division of labour. The collation of important and well-known works, and the search for minor works in public or large private libraries, can be easily and efficiently performed by a single

individual; but the county bibliographer's chief difficulty consists in the discovery of tracts or other ephemeral literature, copies of which (perhaps unique copies) have by a mere accident, or for some personal reason, been preserved only by those who are not accredited book-collectors, and are probably quite unaware that their literary posssesions have either interest or value. The existence of such works can only be ascertained through some neighbour or acquaintance of their owner. This difficulty can no doubt be partially overcome by correspondence, but no one knows till they have had experience, how inaccurate and misleading are replies to enquiries on such matters, from those who have but a dim notion of the meaning of the word bibliography. Time and money are often wasted on fruitless journeys to inspect a bundle of tracts, which, on examination, prove to be outside the limits of the author's work, or to have been seen by him before. And when all has been done that can be done by enquiry and correspondence, there is always the risk that the search in certain districts has not been as exhaustive as it might have been.

The scheme, therefore, which I venture to advocate is this. Let the production of a county bibliography be undertaken by a society formed for the purpose, or perhaps better still, by a committee of some society already in existence. I do not think that it would be difficult to induce many an Antiquarian, or Literary, or Public Record Society, to enter on such a work, if its importance were represented to them, and they were instructed how they should set about it. Having undertaken the work, the society should proceed to map out the county into districts, varying in size inversely with the density of the population, and a committee should be constituted, of which one member at least should reside in each district. An editor would have to be appointed, and it would be as well if a small editorial sub-committee were also appointed to frame regulations for the conduct of the work. It would be the duty of each member of the general committee to search his district as thoroughly as possible for works falling within the prescribed limits of the bibliography, and to forward to the editor collations of all such works as came under his notice, on forms with which he would have been

furnished. To avoid duplicate collations, each member might be periodically supplied by the editor with lists of works which had been collated. This method would ensure an exhaustive search and uniformity of treatment. And as the existence and ownership of every work would be thus made known to the editor, he could with little difficulty personally examine any one of more than ordinary interest, if the account of it which he had received was insufficient. This scheme of sub-dividing a county into districts is by no means a visionary one. It has been adopted with marked success in some counties, for the purpose of obtaining photographs of objects of historic or antiquarian interest, and also for the purpose of obtaining drawings and descriptions of church plate, and I see no reason why it should not be applied with a like success to bibliography. By this means I believe that each county could, at least expense, in the least time, and in the most thorough manner, produce a bibliography of its own literature.

II. But to make the scheme really effective, individual counties should not act entirely independently. If each committee framed their own rules, there would be as much diversity in the results of their labours as is to be found in existing local bibliographies. In order to overcome this difficulty I would respectfully urge on this Society that it might with advantage step in.

If it would take the initiative and issue a strong recommendation, addressed to local Archæological or Literary Societies, showing the object and importance of the work, accompanied by instructions for its performance, a step more likely to be effectual than any other would have been taken towards attaining that uniformity in system which is so desirable. These instructions should set out—

(1.) The limits of the work.

(2.) Its arrangement.

(3.) The treatment of the works to be noticed, and specimen pages would form a useful adjunct.

The success of the scheme which I have sketched would depend on the interest in it which could be evoked. Indeed, if it were favourably entertained in the first instance, it would break down (as all committee work breaks down), if there were not at least one member of the committee that had taken it in hand, who had some enthusiasm for the work, and who realized its nature and importance. But is it too much to expect that one such individual is to be found in every county in the kingdom?

The means of disposing of a sufficient number of copies to cover the cost of printing is no doubt a serious consideration. Probably the readiest means of doing so would be to issue each work in annual parts, as a supplement to the Transactions of the Society engaged on its production. If the prospectus of the work were issued under the auspices of this Society, it would be some guarantee of its character, and might induce public libraries to subscribe for copies.

And here I would suggest, as a rider to my scheme, that after such a work had been completed in any county, it might very readily be kept up to date by printing, as an integral portion of the Transactions of the Society which compiled it, a bibliography of all local works published during the past year. Indeed, if the scheme itself be thought too ambitious, the rider might alone be adopted. We should then at any rate be shortly possessed of a descriptive register of current local literature.

III. What are the proper limits of a County Bibliography?

I offer my suggestions on this head with much diffidence, as I know that I am addressing those who are far more competent to speak on such a matter than I am.

The margin of limitation is a very wide one. When the county bibliographer sets about placing the metes and bounds of the fields in which he is to labour, he has a harder task before him than the uninitiated might suppose. If he decides that his work shall include all "local

literature" in the widest possible signification of that term, and he is undertaking the work single-handed, it is to be hoped that he is a young and very healthy man, for the chances are that he will well-nigh have reached the allotted threescore years and ten, ere he sees his work completed. Even if such a work were undertaken by co-operation in the manner I have suggested it would be a lengthy process, and it would not, in my judgment, be satisfactory when achieved, for it would be too bulky and too heterogeneous for general utility.

For the purpose of considering what works shall be included in or discarded from a county bibliography I will divide all literature which can by any possibility be described as "local" into the following classes :—

1. Printed works—the contents of which exclusively relate to the county or to any part of it.
2. Printed works which contain a substantive and important reference to the county or to any part of it.
3. Biographies of inhabitants of the county.
4. Locally printed works.
5. Works written by inhabitants of the county.
6. Speeches or sermons on general subjects delivered within the county.
7. Prints.
8. Maps.
9. Manuscripts.

I will consider these classes in the reverse order to that in which I have enumerated them.

Class 9. Manuscripts I would reject. There is such a hard and fast line between them and printed matter, and they require such different treatment, that I think they should be reserved for a separate work. If this is agreed to a great difficulty will be avoided, as it is by no means easy to lay

down any satisfactory rule with regard to their selection. If public documents only are included, private letters, which may be of greater historic interest, will be excluded. And I am glad to say that this class is diminishing in size, as most manuscripts of importance are being printed by Record Societies.

Classes 7 and 8. Prints and maps, though appertaining to local literature, do not strictly fall within that definition. And for that reason, and perhaps that reason only, they might be rejected if it is desired to restrict the dimensions of the work. In this suggestion I am referring only to separate prints. Volumes of prints would fall under classes 1 or 2. In the case of small counties, single prints (which are often of extreme interest) might be included with advantage.

Class 6. Sermons and speeches that have no claim to admittance but their delivery within the precincts of the county, I would unhesitatingly reject. In this decision, I believe most bibliographers would joyfully acquiesce; but there should be some exceptions in favour of speeches or sermons, the appearance of which fixes any date, or marks any event in local history, *e.g.*, sermons on the consecration or re-opening of a church; speeches at the opening of an institution, etc. Funeral sermons would be included in Class 3 (Biography) if that class is retained.

Class 5. Works on general subjects written by local authors, I would also reject. Their connection with the county is rather nominal than substantial. Their inclusion might be gratifying to local sentiment, but I do not see that it could answer any useful purpose. I advocate this with the greater confidence, because I see that a Vice-President of this Society (Mr. Christie) has expressed the same opinion in his admirable paper on Special Bibliographies. It is the inclusion of this class which to my mind somewhat lessens the value of the *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*.

Class 4. Locally printed works. The question whether this class should be included is a very debatable one, and in my opinion the answer

should greatly depend on whether the county bibliography is to be a handmaid to a national bibliography, or an independent work. If the former, I should without hesitation say that it should be included. Indeed, if we had complete bibliographies of all printed matter from local presses, the compilers of the national work would require little or nothing else from the provinces. I doubt, however, if this were all that counties were asked to take in hand, and Classes 1 and 2 were to be excluded, whether there would be sufficient interest in the proposal for its acceptance.

But if a county bibliography is to be an independent work, framed on lines which will make it as useful and as acceptable to the county as possible, I incline to think, although with some reluctance, that locally printed works should be excluded. Much the same reasoning applies to them as to works by native authors. They have, at least from the student's point of view, no intrinsic relation to the county. Indeed, their only connection with it may be said to be the accident of birth.

But the same rules can hardly be applied to large and small counties, and if locally printed works do not make a bibliography too voluminous, I think no one would cavil at their inclusion.

Class 3. In considering whether or no biographies of inhabitants shall be included, I would repeat the remark which I have just made with regard to Class 4. If space will admit, they should be included. The history of a county and the lives of its inhabitants are so inseparably connected, that it is hard to see on what principle they are to be distinguished. I certainly think that works in this class have a prior claim to locally printed works, and it is with great regret that my friend and I have been forced by want of space, to exclude them from our own book.

I would, however, warn those who intend to include biographies that it will involve a decision on many nice points. The title to admission of particular works in this class is often difficult to settle. Are inhabitants to include natives, residents, and office-bearers? If so, is birth without resi-

dence sufficient? What length of residence is necessary? What office shall entitle its holders to admission?

If, however, this class, as a class, be rejected, it does not follow that all works which would fall within it, were it retained, will necessarily be rejected also. The biography of a man, who is described on the title as of a certain place, ought surely to be classed with works relating to that place. For example, "An English county squire as sketched at Hardwicke Court." properly finds a place with books on Hardwicke. And under the heading "Berkeley," it would be a flagrant omission if all the literature relating to the great Berkeley Law Suits were omitted.

Class 2. Works which contain a substantive reference to the county or to any part of it have not hitherto, except in the case of the *Lancashire Library*, found a place in existing county bibliographies. But I cannot see on what ground they can be reasonably excluded. If they are rejected, the student of the history of a county will find its bibliography but an imperfect guide.

While speaking of this class, I will say that if my suggestion of a complete series of county bibliographies is ever carried out, the first volumes of the series should be a bibliography of works on general topography. By this means the valuable suggestion made by Mr. Wheatley might be utilized, and the titles of many works containing references to particular counties need not be repeated in the county bibliographies, as a reference to the earlier volume of the series, where each was to be found in full, would suffice.

The reference to the county in this class, should be either a chapter, or distinct portion of the book under a separate heading. Mere casual mentions of the county in the texts of works on general subjects, could not be noticed without making the bibliographer's work almost endless. Exceptions to this rule may, however, be made in favour of a few standard works, such as Leland's *Itinerary* or Dugdale's *Monasticon*. I observe that Colonel

Fishwick places Papers in the Transactions of Societies in this class. I should place them in Class 1 (which I am about to notice) as I think that these, as well as articles in reviews and magazines (if they relate exclusively to the county) should be regarded as independent works.

Class 1. Printed works, the contents of which relate exclusively to the county or to any part of it.

This Class forms the backbone of every county bibliography, and must be included as a matter of course. The only question with reference to it requiring discussion is the meaning which we are to assign to "works." I would urge that that word should here have the widest possible signification, and should include all printed matter, from books as ponderous as *Piranese* or as voluminous as the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* down to chap-books, broadsides, and leaflets, if their contents are ever likely to be of the slightest historical value. In the selection to be made from these latter, much discretion must be exercised, but I venture to think that here sins of omission are greater than sins of commission. Unfortunately, the bibliographer cannot

> "Look into the seeds of Time,
> And say which grain will grow and which will not;"

and however unpalatable it may be to him, he should chronicle the existence of much trash, in order that what may ultimately prove of value may not escape notice. I would then make Class 1 comprise all books, pamphlets, tracts, acts of parliament, articles in magazines, papers in transactions of societies, local periodicals, broadsides, and leaflets, the contents of which exclusively relate to the county. Local periodicals would of course include reports of public bodies and associations within the county, and they should also include newspapers published within the county. I have expressly made this class comprise only works, the contents of which, relate to the county, in order to exclude those which have a merely nominal relation to it. Exceptions must, however, be occasionally made, and now and then a work will be dragged in, by main force as it were, through the prominence of a

name on its title. For example, Clement Barksdale's *Nympha Libethris or the Cotswold Muse*, could hardly with propriety be excluded from a Gloucestershire bibliography; nor could a collection of verses entitled *A Gloucestershire Garland*, though the text of neither work contains any reference to that county.

IV. When the limits of the bibliography have been ascertained, how should the works falling within those limits be arranged?

In the treatment of the notice of each work (a subject outside the scope of this paper) the bibliographer is always in the unpleasant position of having to serve two masters, whose requirements are different. The book-collector demands of him what Mr. Madan calls "ultra-scientific accuracy," which to the student is a stumbling-block and an offence. But in matters of arrangement (at least as far as topographical works are concerned), he is in no such predicament. Both student and bibliophile desire a classification that will enable them to find the work or group of works for which they are searching with the greatest ease. In local bibliographies, I believe that the arrangement which will suit the one will also suit the other. Such works will probably be consulted by the writer of a book or the collector of books relating to a particular town or parish, and both desire to find a record of all literature relating to that place under one heading.

For this reason I should condemn an alphabetical arrangement under authors' names. This mode of classification seems to me a flaw in Boase and Courtney's great work. I would for the same reason (at least as far as main headings are concerned) reject a subject-classification, such as that which is partially adopted in the otherwise excellent *Bibliotheca Dorsetiensis*. Such an arrangement is always more or less capricious, and puzzles the searcher. Why should "Works illustrating Social Life" be under a separate heading, when many of them relate to different towns or parishes. As "locality" (using the word in a somewhat abstract sense) is the *raison d'être* of a county bibliography, locality should be the guiding principle in

its arrangement. Hence every work of whatever kind or description, if included because of its relation to a particular parish or town, should be classed under the heading of that parish or town. Even if it is determined that a bibliography should be all-embracing, five out of the nine classes into which I divided local literature for the purpose of discussing its proper limits, would then disappear as main headings, and only now and then appear as sub-headings. Thus works relating in whole or in part to a particular place (including, of course, periodicals and acts of parliament), works printed, and sermons and speeches delivered in it, as well as maps and prints of it, should all be collected under that place. The main heading now under consideration, viz.: Works relating to particular towns and parishes, will thus constitute the most important and probably the largest part of the bibliography. Not only will it be found that this is the most convenient arrangement (which should be, of course, the chief aim), but also the most interesting, as the narrower the limits within which you can localise any work, the greater interest do you impart to it. For example, *The Gloucestershire Tragedy*, placed among works relating to the county generally, would pass unnoticed, but when placed under the head of the village in which the tragedy occurred, it at once attracts attention.

Having placed all the works under the head of the town or parish to which they belong, the remainder should be divided into those which relate to defined districts of the county (if any such exist), and those which relate to the whole or undefined areas of the county. I have mentioned these three classes in the reverse order to that which they should occupy in the work when completed, in order to show which class, while the process of classification is going on, should have priority.

The arrangement of the work will then be analogous to that in Anderson's *Book of British Topography;* works relating to the county generally, taking the place in his work assigned to those on general topography, and those relating to particular places taking the place of those under the heads of particular counties. If it is decided to include

biographies, or works by local authors, these should, I think, form classes by themselves.

I do not propose to say much about sub-headings, as these must vary with the peculiarities of the literature of particular places. But in works relating to the whole county and to large towns, obviously some sub-divisions will be requisite. In the former case, works which relate in whole may be conveniently separated from those which relate in part to the county. And in both cases, acts of parliament and periodicals will probably be found to be sufficiently numerous to justify their being placed under separate sub-headings. In the case of a watering place, its guides had better be collected under one head.

In all such matters there is room for a wide difference of taste, but for my own part I think that a multiplication of sub-headings is a mistake, and should only be resorted to when a particular class of literature would overshadow all the rest.

To summarize what I have said, the arrangement which I would suggest for a county bibliography would be as follows :—

I. Works relating to the county generally.

- *a.* Works the whole of which relate to the county.
- *b.* Works containing substantive references to the county.
- *c.* Periodicals.
- *d.* County administration.
- *e.* Acts of Parliament.

II. Works relating to defined districts of the county.

III. Works relating to parishes and towns.

IV. Biographies of inhabitants.

The arrangement of works in each sub-division (except periodicals) to be chronological. Works of the same year, when the day of publication is

known, or when their sequence is otherwise ascertainable, to be arranged chronologically, but when this is not possible they are to be arranged alphabetically.

If it is decided to reject biographies, Class 4 would be omitted, without otherwise altering the arrangement. If on the other hand it is determined to include every kind of local literature, "works by local authors" would form Class 5, and there would be more sub-headings: *e.g.*, maps, prints, and manuscripts relating to the whole county would constitute respectively sub-divisions *f*, *g*, and *h* of Class 1. There might also have to be sub headings for these works under some of the districts, parishes, &c., and "locally printed works" would form a sub-heading under most of the towns.

As a result of a discussion of more than usual interest, Mr. Hyett was asked to draw up a set of rules which might serve as a model to County Bibliographers. It was hoped that these rules might have been printed as an appendix to the paper, but Mr. Hyett's other work has prevented him from completing them, and he is anxious also that they should be submitted to the Council, or to the Society at large, before being definitely printed. If possible, therefore, they will be circulated in an early number of the *News-Sheet*, with a view of eliciting criticism and suggestions. [A. W. P.]

THE WRITING-BOOKS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By EDWARD F. STRANGE.

Read May 20th, 1895.

THE subject to which I have the honour of drawing your attention this evening, is that of the small class of printed books containing copies of hand-writing and ornamental lettering; and as in this preliminary essay I desire rather to discuss general questions than items of particular research, I propose to confine myself mainly to those copy-books which were issued in Italy, France, and Spain, during the sixteenth century. I shall endeavour to give a historical sketch, in outline, of those of each country; and to consider their proper place in the history of art and letters.

Into the question of writing copies, before the spread of printing, it is difficult to enter, as specimens seem to be very rare. Mr. Loftie possesses a very fine alphabet of illuminated initials, perhaps of the fifteenth century, evidently a model for the guidance of scribes, and Mr. W. H. J. Weale had once in his hands a very beautiful manuscript set of examples of various writings, set out by a writing master for the instruction of Mary of Burgundy, afterwards wife of Maximilian I, of Germany. As she was born in 1457, the date of the book would probably lie between 1470 and 1475.

This manuscript was offered both to the British Museum and to South Kensington, but was unfortunately declined by both institutions and has, I believe, now gone to America.

The earliest of the printed manuals of caligraphy appears to have been that of Sigismundo dei Fanti, of Ferrara, printed by Joannes Rubeus Vercellensis, at Venice, in 1514; with illustrations cut by the celebrated engraver, Ugo da Carpi. It contains, with the exception of two curious wood-cut illustrations of the method of holding a pen, examples of geometrically-formed letters only, good in their way but not caligraphic in the ordinary sense. As an example I give here (Fig. 1) an illustration of the P with the explanatory letterpress.

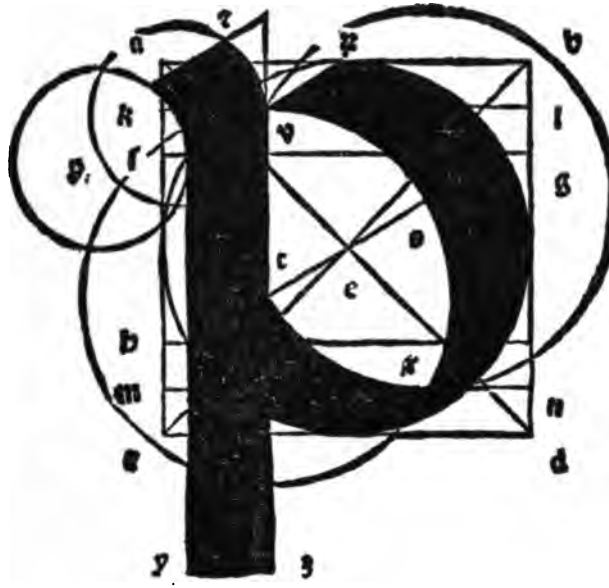
This was followed by the books of Ludovico Vicentino, a native of Venice, printed at Rome in 1522 and 1523, and by the *Thesauro de' scrittori* of Ugo da Carpi, also produced at Rome in the latter year. It is impossible to unravel the confusion existing between these three pioneer works; an example of which may be shown by the fact that Ugo da Carpi's book is avowedly based on that of Fantis, while it includes at least one plate signed by Vicentino.

These productions were closely followed, in 1524, by the first book of Giovanni Antonio Tagliente (also of Venice) who dedicated it to the Grand Secretary of the Republic. It resembles very closely those already mentioned, even in the wording of the instructions, but does not seem to include any plates which can, with certainty, be identified with those attributed to other scribes. Whether the result is due to Tagliente's superior business abilities, or to the high patronage he seems to have secured, or to both, one cannot say; but it is interesting to note that at least eighteen separate editions of his book had appeared by 1565, its fame having even demanded one in a city so as far away as Antwerp.

The next writing-master worthy of our attention is Giovanni Battista Palatino, who boldly announces himself as a citizen of Rome—a distinction

LIBER

NOn ignorare se la littera.p.insistere desiderarai fare tutti li præcepti de la præcedente. ꝑtrahendo poi doæ lineæ æquidistante cioe.o.q.fina ad.y.ita ꝙ.q.y.sia doæ pēnæ e media.et.u.s.in cōtinuo fina ad.z.protracta ita ꝙ.s.et z.sia apūcto tre pēne:cioe che la gamba o uero asta del.p.uadi di soto e passi lo lato del quadrato q̄to sia lasta & media de quella del primo documento.cioe per una pēna e media:che cosi anchora habia-



mo in tuttæ læ altræ Astæ inferiore ad intēdere. Et questo facto sopra il possamēto de la pēna.o.u.se faci lo medio puncto &.ꝝ.o.u.si come te dilucida la doctrina de la littera.i.medianti li dui parui circuli fatti sopra il centro.ɔ.et.de lo opposito.Quando hauerai cosi li præcepti nostri adūque ordinati.la littera.p.certamēte fera cum ragione instituita.la quale e opposita al.d.e questo e che uolgendo lo d.ritorna in.p.& uolgendo lo.p.dico quello di sotto di sopra se cōuerte in.d.perche sono simile in creatione dispositione & in quātitade,ma sono diuersi in el suo principiare e finire.

1. From the *Theorica et practica Sigismundi de Fantis.* (Sig. E_{II} verso.) *Venetiis*, 1514, 4to

of which he is evidently proud, it having been awarded to him, according to Pouget,* as a recognition of his skill. Palatino was a native of Rossano, and published his book at Rome under the patronage of Paul III, an honour to which—in a few years at all events—he added the favour of the Venetian Senate. His work, indeed, met with wide and immediate success, obtained perhaps by the greater attention given to cursive forms of writing, a class which gained every year greater and greater practical value. At the same time one must acknowledge an evident decadence of artistic merit. His lettering is still excellent as compared with ours; but it begins to lose distinction—the, perhaps, inevitable result of mere transcription of already accepted models.

Palatino did not, however, long enjoy an unchallenged supremacy. In 1560 Gian Francesco Cresci, writer to the Papal Library at Rome, issued a set of models engraved on copper; and followed it up by a more complete treatise, *Il Perfetto Scrittore*, in 1570. A result of these publications was the issue, by Palatino, of a new edition of his own work, revised to suit the altered trend of public opinion.

It is scarcely needful to give details of the numerous hand-books which now arrive in rapid succession. A list of them, complete as far as possible to the year 1600, is printed at the end of this paper. I will only mention here the works of Vespasiano and Curione as being both worthy of reference. That of Verini shows a very decided falling off as compared with the earlier masters; while the copy-book by Sacchi is a fair specimen of the fine-line copperplate method, of which the tradition remains with us, unhappily, even to this day.

Turning from Italy to Spain we find, as far as I can ascertain, a considerable period to have elapsed before any native book appears; a fact probably and simply explained by the use of Italian models. In 1548 Juan de Yciar published at Saragossa his *Recopilacion subtilissima*—a magnificent work, of which several subsequent editions appeared at short intervals.

* Pouget, *Dict. de Chiffres*, etc. Paris, 1767.

Many of the principal plates (cut by Jean de Vingles, of Lyons, it should be said) are copies of the Italian books; but there are still a large number which have valuable and interesting characteristics of local origin.

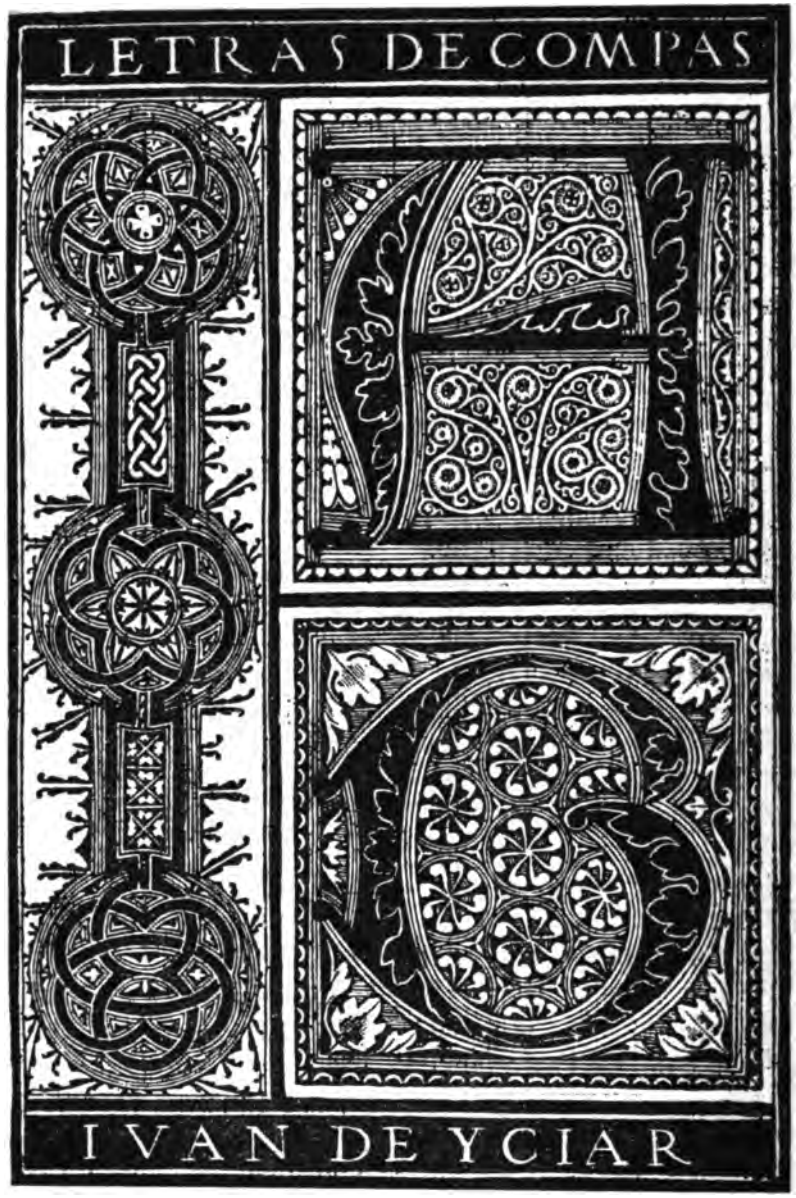
Most of the running hands show a dignity and decorative sense, if I may so express it, which may not unreasonably be ascribed to Moorish influence. A good example of this will be found in the *Castellana mas formada*, and, again, in the script on sheet D; in each case the suggestion of the beautiful curves and lines of Arabic writing is particularly striking.

The initials for the use of illuminators are also good—perhaps the best of their kind in any printed book—while the monogram facing the portrait of the author is curious and elaborate. This little book ranks high among its kind, and one feels that the réputation is by no means undeserved. Our illustrations (Fig. 2 and 3) give the letters A and B, designed as models for illuminators, and part of an alphabet of the "letra formada"

One other Spanish book deserves mention, that of Francisco Lucas. It was published at Madrid in 1577. The copies follow, in most cases, the models of Yciar, but with additions; they are, however, much simpler. But the main value of the work lies in its careful instructions in the art of writing, and in the ingenious and useful analysis of the different quill pen strokes, which are both illustrated and described. It is a book which shows more independence and originality than any other with which I am acquainted, after the early Italian publications, and would be noteworthy on that account alone.

In France, the earliest book dealing with the making of letters appears to be that of Geoffroy Tory, of Bourges, who published his *Champfleury* at Paris, in 1529. A second edition appeared in 1549, printed for "Vivant Gaultherot."

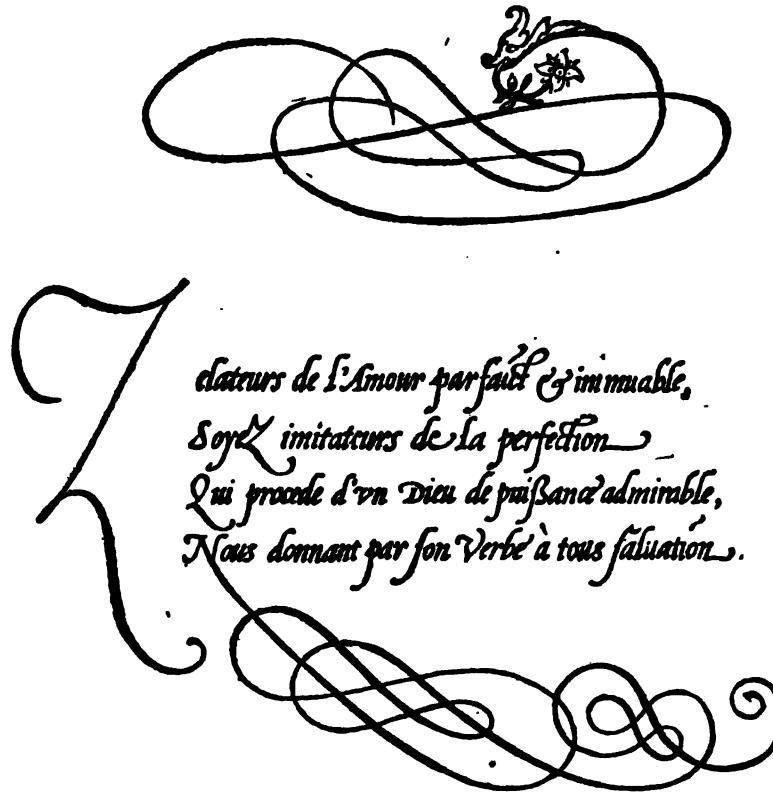
Tory's work is really a book of emblems, full of the most charming and irrelevant dissertations on every subject he can by hook or crook



2. From the *Orthographia pratica* of Juan de Yciar. *Saragossa*, 1548. (Sig. G. v^{b}.)

3. From the *Orthographia pratica* of Juan de Yciar. *Saragossa*, 1548. (Sig. E iiii$^{b.}$)

connect with a letter, and of the most ingenious and unsubstantial conclusions that could possibly have been arrived at on the same lines. I may, perhaps, be permitted to translate a specimen of his logic. He says, "The 'X' is



4. From the *Alphabet de dissemblables sortes de lettres.* Par Jacques de la Rue. *Paris, s.a.*

taken for 10, because if we consider well what saith Priscian in the chapter *De accidentibus literæ*, and in the book *De numeris et ponderibus*, it is the tenth letter in alphabetical order, accounting 'C,' 'G' and 'O' for one, since

they pass for one another; and similarly 'B' and 'F' also for one, since they are already used for each other in saying *Bruges* and *fruges*. And moreover in not counting 'S' as a letter, for of old it was not written but only taken to denote a sibilation, as, God helping me, I will point out shortly in its alphabetical place."

I must confess that I cannot agree with our author's conclusion, even by allowing him this liberal method of computation. He *may*, however, be correct, and he certainly advances the statement—as indeed all others that he makes—with a plausible air of complete and perfect accuracy.

For the most part, his letters are entirely subordinate in their form to the wondrous things with which he harmonizes them. He is candid, however, and acknowledges his indebtedness to Fanti.

Of other French caligraphists, note may be taken of the quaint writing of Jacques De la Rue, from whose *Alphabet de dissemblables sortes de lettres*, published in Paris in the last half of the century, we give an illustration (fig. 4), and of Pierre Hamon, of Blois, concerning whom an interesting scrap of biography is related by Pouget.

He is said to have been writing-master, and afterwards secretary, to Charles IX, and to have attained much fame and skill; until, having been convicted of forging the signature of "the Prince," he was hanged at Paris on the 7th March, 1569. Pouget, however, is fair enough to mention that Hamon was a Huguenot, and that his execution was alleged by his own party to have been for the sake of his religion. He also states that on account of this *cause celèbre* the Corporation of *Maîtres Ecrivains* was founded at Paris in 1570, in order that a college of experts in handwriting might always be available in similar cases. Our illustration (fig. 5) of Hamon's work is a page in "Lettre plaisante" from his *Alphabet de l'invention des lettres*. (Paris, 1561.)

The last French writing-master to whom reference need be made is Jean de Beauchesne, who published his *Thresor d'Escripture* at Paris in

Le Plaisant

Kadmus selon les Grecz ha le bruict aussy d'estre le premier composiez. Mais cela n'est vray semblable car il n'estoit que du tems d'Ottoniel, qui regna Duc & Cappitaine sur Israel (succedant a Josué, xlvij ans, apres que la Loy eut este escrite par Moyse duquel il ha peu apprendre. Encores n'en porta il que xvi. Caracteres en Grece

a. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. v. u. x. y. z. &

D

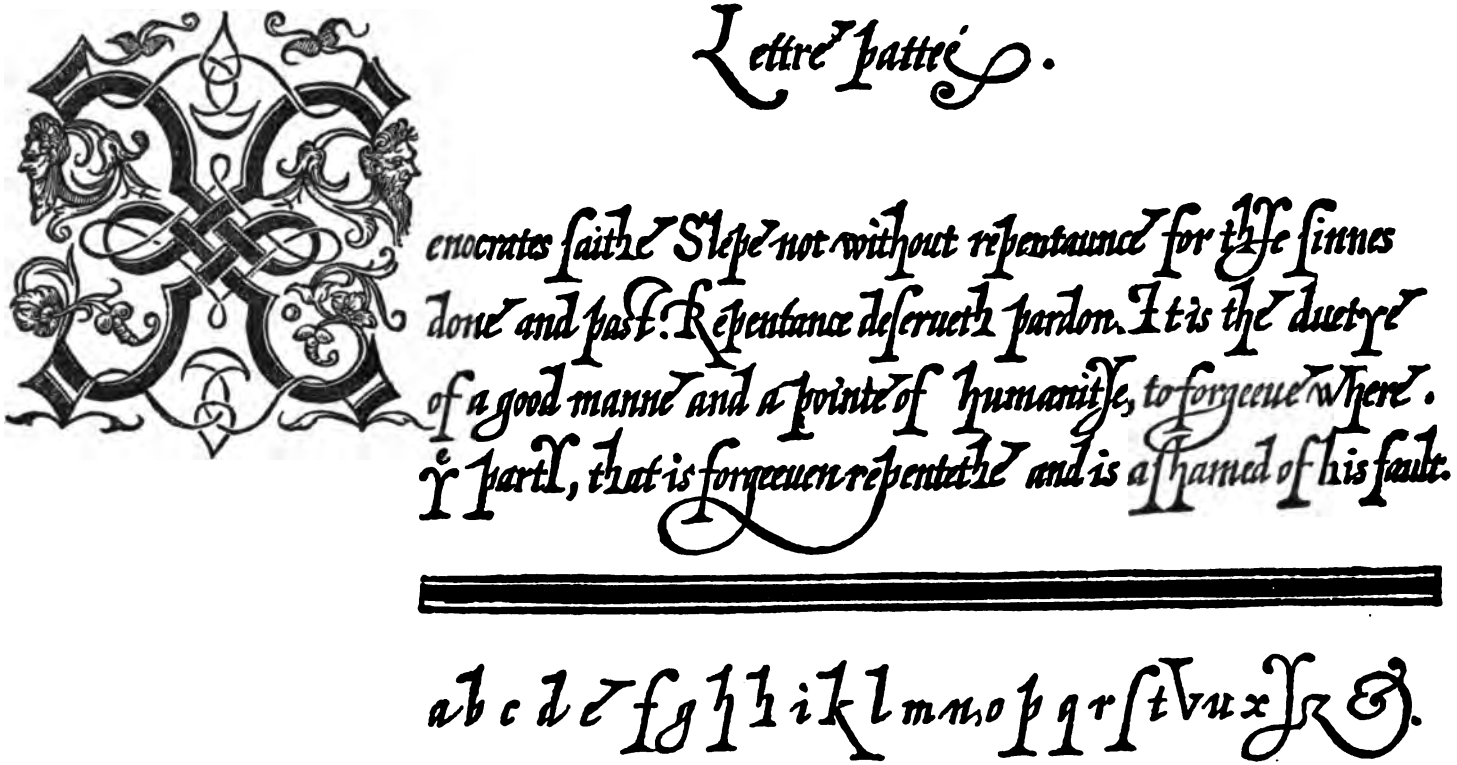
5. From Hamon's *L'Alphabet de l'Invention des Lettres. Paris*, 1561. (Sig. D.)

1550. This book has an especial interest for us, as a later edition of it is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the earliest writing book published in England, and for this reason merits some detailed description.

The British Museum copy is a small oblong quarto, commencing with an ornamental titlepage, cut, I think, in metal, and consisting in all of twelve sheets signed from the second onwards, A to I, K, L. It may, however, be incomplete, inasmuch as one of the contents set forth at the beginning is the "true & iust proportiõ' of the capitall Romãe," an evident allusion to the mathematical construction of letters given by other authors. This title concludes with the words "*Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrouillier, dwelling in the blacke frieres, 1571.*" The next page contains a Latin dedication to the Earl of Arundel, in which, with much humility, the printer offers to his patron "primos operis hujus mei fructus . . . . in nostra typographia apud Carmelitas. quarto Kalendas Januarias, 1569." It is evident that the enterprise was his own, as John Baildon, whose name also appears in the title, was only employed by Vautrouillier to translate and edit the work.

The contents cover much the usual ground: examples of chancery, secretary, roman and gothic, some of them curiously modern in character. There is also a plate of methods of holding the pen, evidently copied from the *Libellus valde doctus* of Urbanus Wyss. A slight examination makes it at once apparent that we have here the model on which the English 17th century masters, Bale, Gething, Cocker and the rest founded their productions. Our illustration (fig. 6) is from a fine page in the "lettre pattée."

A word may be said in this place as to the different classes of lettering figured. In the beginning a considerable space was devoted to decorative lettering for the use of various craftsmen; the other contents generally including chancery or diplomatic writing, book hands, commercial hands, and always roman capitals. Gradually the decorative lettering disappeared,



G

From *A Booke containing divers sortes of hands.* Set forth by John de Beau Chesne, P. and M. John Baildon. (Sig. G.)
T. Vautrouillier: London, 1571.

until the books, towards the end of the sixteenth century, were devoted almost entirely to pure caligraphy.

An important space, however, is generally allotted to the diagrammatic construction of letters; indeed the earliest book—that of Fanti—contains little else than roman capitals set out by geometrical methods.

The best example of these mathematically-made letters is to be found in the *Geometria* of Albert Dürer. He gives an alphabet of roman capitals constructed on simple geometrical principles; and also one of lower case gothic most ingeniously built up with squares and triangles. Leonardo da Vinci and Serlio also have similar specimens, together with most of the masters whose productions we are considering on the present occasion.

As regards the quality of the letters actually used, little can be said to the detriment of the system in the case of Dürer, whose construction is not, as with most of the others, a more important consideration than the form of the letter. His alphabets are both good of themselves, and the machinery neither detracts from nor injures them. But in other instances, it is obvious that the result is too often subordinated to the means by which it is attained, and suffers accordingly.

It seems at first sight scarcely possible to sufficiently condemn these hard and fast canons of proportion. They take away the very saving grace of all good lettering—individuality, and produce only the merest repetition of an original model. But, however noxious may be their influence on the scribe, he is not quite the only person to be considered. And a practical man will cherish some grateful feeling for an easy and certain method of obtaining a well-formed letter at the hands of the most unintelligent workman, whom the necessities of trade may compel him to employ. We have to take things as we find them—and the skilful and artistic designer of letters is very far to seek. Moreover, it is not entirely an unmixed evil to be able to rigidly preserve the proportions of an alphabet—provided always

that the model is sufficiently good in itself to deserve it; while, to quarrel with a thing of beauty because you object to the particular method of its manufacture, seems to be carrying principle a little too far. The whole question is one of special circumstances, and should not, perhaps, be criticised at all from the general point of view.

It is worth while to note briefly the manner in which the illustrations of these books are produced. In the earlier examples there can, I think, be little doubt but that they were printed from metal plates cut in relief in the manner of a wood block.* That this process was used to a considerable extent in the 15th and early 16th centuries is a well-ascertained fact; and it obtains corroboration from an examination of the difference in the quality of the lines in such cases as the *Perfetto Scrittore* of Cresci, where the metal plate containing the writing is seen, on the same page with wood-cut borders of the most ordinary technical qualities. Later, the convenient process of copperplate engraving became universal, and brought with it a distinct influence on the prevailing style. I do not think that there is very good evidence of wood-cutting having been used for any of the examples of script, pure and simple, and the presumption is all the other way, it being remembered that the difference is merely one of material, and that the ultimate result in either case is a "type-block."

In examining any simple branch of arts or letters there is always a danger that it may be brought somewhat out of focus with its surroundings, and its relative value thus be misunderstood. But the subject now under consideration seems, even after making due allowance for that besetting sin of the specialist, to have been hitherto somewhat under-rated. These books,

*At the meeting of the Society at which this paper was read, Mr. Clulow, whose opinion is entitled to all respect, combated this opinion, suggesting that in some of the larger copies it was possible to detect the grain of wood in the impressions. I have never myself met with any such case; and that soft metal, cut in the same way as wood, was largely used for illustrations is now generally accepted. In the case of the *Horæ*, printed by Jean du Pré, in February, 148⅞, the printer himself speaks of "les vignettes de ces presentes heures *imprimees en cuyvre*."

of small importance from the printer's point of view—of little account among the treasures of the Fine Arts—have yet a significance which entitles them to no mean place in the history of education. The birth and development of printing had taught the people to read; for fifty years a great educational leaven had been working in society; and now came its natural corollary—the desire to write. Hitherto that accomplishment had been confined to the privileged classes. The Church controlled it as far as might be; the chanceries of various States preserved their traditional characters with singular tenacity; and only in a few of the great industrial centres were found guilds of laymen who practised the crafts of writing and illuminating, with, however, all the jealous restrictions customary to those institutions. All this, if it did not disappear at once, was to dwindle gradually into insignificance before the movement of which the writing-books are the outward and visible sign. The art of the manuscript writer was killed by printing, and the Church gave it a death blow by the adoption of the new craft for service books and other literature of religion. But legal and State chanceries, whose deeds did not in many cases require multiplication, preserved their tradition so long, that even so young a man as myself may perhaps say that only in his own day is the traditional script of the lawyer yielding place to current handwriting. And it may be curiously noted that from the first the writing-books have always supplied models of chancery hands—with what accuracy I would prefer to leave it for skilled paleographists to determine.

We are dealing, therefore, with the evidences of a great social revolution—a point which I wish to plead in answer to those who depreciate these manuals of caligraphy from the high artistic standpoint of the lover of old manuscript-hands on the one side, or that of the connoisseur of technical excellence in mere book-making on the other.

Judging them by the first standpoint, it would be absurd to pretend that they in any way rival the productions of the scribes of the middle ages —an apex of excellence reached, only after centuries of apprenticeship.

But the comparison is unfair and unreasonable. The hands taught in these books are not such as would be suitable for the service of a magnificent and impressive ritual. They were not for the direct use of art any more than of religion; neither were they destined for the recording of the great facts of international or social history, whose dignity might well demand some more impressive caligraphy than those of every-day life; but they represented a means of communication for ordinary people of no particular account, to whom this literary commerce was mainly a new thing. And I submit that their value should be estimated rather by what has followed them, than by what has gone before.

The examples laid before you* show, I think, a somewhat rapid deterioration. In the beginning, the tradition of the good type-letter was still alive, and those who had learned to read the beautiful productions of Venice and other centres of printing demanded a not inferior standard of writing. The standard of both arts, however, immediately began to suffer from the ill-effects of popularity—the commonplace productions of commercial imitators, who looked only to the easy satisfaction of a trade demand. In all the arts it is the same. The man of genius creates a fashion, and his disciples hasten to vulgarize it by their servility.

It is interesting in the present instance to note that the early writing-books still find it worth their while to give examples of the gothic texts, of ribbon-letters, and the like—doubtless for the benefit of such craftsmen as still required them—for they had already passed out of literary use. But soon the engravers of monumental brasses and slates, and other workers in the lesser arts gave up the use of these old characters, and henceforth the writing-books confine themselves more and more to copies for hand-writing alone. The adoption of copper-plate engraving for these copies had also a curious and very marked effect, as I believe I am right in attributing to this cause, that striving after extreme fineness of line which we all

* To illustrate the paper a small collection of books was lent from the National Art Library, by permission of the Department of Science and Art.

remember so well at school. But although in this direction the writing-masters aimed at an absence of character and style which culminated in the most mechanical monotony, the possibilities of the quill pen as an instrument of decoration were too obvious to be neglected. Beginning with playful exaggeration of finials and loops of letters—as may be seen well in the books of Tagliente and Palatino—they gradually developed such fantasy in the multiplication of flourishes, as is very nearly indeed akin to madness. Examples of the suggestion of a human face, by the addition of a few strokes to such letters as *l* or *t* are often found in early manuscripts; as well as on the titlepages of books, printed for Antoine Vérard, and by some of the early Lyons printers; while for the acme of ingenious penwork we go, of course, to the Irish scribes of the 7th and 8th centuries. But the latter carefully subordinated their involutions of line to a consistent and very beautiful design, of which these are necessary and unobtrusive details; on the other hand, the writing masters of the 17th and 18th centuries laboriously lost their capitals in a maze of ugly curves, which—however much we may admire their dexterity—only succeed in presenting to us the worst-drawn version possible of the birds, fruit, flowers and cherubs sacrificed in the alleged cause of decoration.

Of our own handwriting in the present day we can say little, save that it is sometimes legible. And when we look back from it to the grace of the copies set by the early 16th century masters, I think we may, perhaps, give them credit for being craftsmen of no little skill and taste—worthy in their own way of some careful study and even reverence.

MATERIALS FOR A LIST OF WRITING-BOOKS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.*

ITALY.

AUGUSTINO, A., *da Siena, Carthusian.*

Opera Del Reverendo Padre Don Augustino Da Siena Monacho Certosino, Nella quale si insegna à scriuere uarie sorte de littere . . . Opera nuova non piu data in luce.
In Venetia . . . Francesco di Thomaso di Salò, 1565. 4to. *B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Venice*, 1568.

CARPI, UGO DA.

Thesauro de' scrittori, opera artificiosa, laquale con grandissima arte, si per practica come per geometria insegna a scrivere diverse sorte de littere, cioè cancellarescha : merchantescha : formata : cursiua : antiqua : moderna : et bastarda de' piu sorte : cum uarij . . . exempli . . . de uarij lingue . . . tutte extratti da diuersi auttori et massimento da Sigismundo Fanto nobile ferrarese mathematico. Intagliata per U. da Carpi. *Roma* [1523]. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p.* 223.

— [Another edition.] *Roma*, 1525. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p.* 223.

— [Another edition.] s.l. 1535. 4to. *B.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Roma*, s.a. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p.* 223.

* NOTE.—It is hoped, if space is allowed, to complete and correct this list in a future number of the Transactions. The compiler will be glad to receive any additional information bearing thereon.

The following abbreviations are used :—

B.M.	British Museum Catalogue.
B.K.M.	Berlin Kunstgewerbe Museum Catalogue. (Dr. Jessen).
S.K.M.	National Art Library Catalogue, South Kensington.
Destailleur.	Destailleur Sale Catalogue, 1891.
Graesse.	Graesse's Trésor de Livres. 1859 edition.
Brunet.	Brunet's Manual du Libraire. 5th edition.
Rosenthal.	Rosenthal's Sale Calalogue, lxix.

CELLEBRINO, EUSTACHIO.

Il modo di imparare di scriuere lettera merchantescha et ectiam a far lo inchiostro et conoscer la carta. Con el modo de temperare la penna.
s.l. 1526.

This book is mentioned in a recent sale catalogue of Rosenthal's; but is perhaps an edition of Tagliente (q.v.).

CONRETTO, *da Monte Regale di Piemonte.*

Vn novo et facil modo d'imparar a scrivere varie sorti di lettere con le sue dichiarationi & diverse maniere d'Alfabeti di Maiuscole moderne.
Venetia, P. Dehuchino, 1576. Obl. 4to. *Rosenthal.*

— [Another edition.]
In Venetia, appresso Bartolomeo Carampello, 1583. *B.K.M.*

CRESCI, GIOVANNI FRANCESCO.

Essemplare di piu sorti lettere. Dove si dimostra la vera et nuova forma dello scriuere cancallaresco.
Roma, Antonio Blado, 1560. Obl. 4to. *Destailleur*, 861.

— [Another edition.] *Rome*, 1566. *B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Venice, Scalicato*, 1583. *Brunet II.* 419.

— [Another edition.] *Venetia*, 1578. *B.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Vinegia*, 1600. *B.M.*

Il perfetto scrittore; doue si veggono i veri caratteri e le natural forme di tutte quelle sorti di lettere che à vero scrittor si appartengono.
Venetia [1569]. Obl. 4to. *B.M.*

Parts 1 and 2.

— [Another edition.] *Roma*, 1570. *Destailleur*, 862.

Il Perfetto cancellaresco corsivo . . . copioso d'ogni maniera di lettere appartenenti à Secretarij, adornato di bellissime e vaghe inventioni di caratteri e collegamenti . . . Con un' breve discorso circa l'honore . . . che apporta al Secretario la scriver bene . . . Libro terzo.
Roma, 1579. Obl. 4to. *B.M.*

Part 3 of *Il Perfetto Scrittore.*

CURIONE, LODOVICO.

La Notomia delle Cancellaresche corsiue, et altre maniere di Lettere di Lodouico Curione . . . Libro Secondo. Martin[s] uan buyten sculpsit hoc opus. *Roma*, 1588. Obl. 4to. *B.K.M.*, *B.M.*

Il Cancelliere Di Lodouico Curione Ornato Di Lettere Corsiue et d' altre maniere di carattieri . . . Libro Quarto. Intagliato per Francesco Villamena l'anno 1605 (MS. for the original date, 1582). *In Roma.* *B.K.M.*

Il Teatro Della Cancellaresche corsiue per Secretari et altre maniere di Lettere Di Lodouico Curione Libro Terzo. Imprione alla insegna del martello. Martin[s] uan buyten Hollandus sculpsit anno Dñi. 1593. Obl. 4to. *B.K.M.*

Parts 2 and 3 are in *B.M.*

FANTI, SIGISMONDO DEI.

Theorica Et Practica Perspicassimi Sigromundi De Fantis Ferrariensis . . . De Modo Scribendi Fabricandiqve Omnes Litterarum Species . . . *Impressum Venetiis per Ioannem Rubeum Vercellēsem. Anno Domini*, 1514. *Kalen. Decembris.* 4to. *B.K.M.*, *B.M.*

See CARPI (U. da).

Thesauro de Scrittori. Opera . . . tutte entratte . . . massimamente da S . Fanti. 4to. n.p. 1535. *B.M.*

GAGLIARDELLI, SALVADORE.

(MS. specimens of writing). Obl. 4to. *Florence*, 1580. *Destailleur*, 866.

Vellum; 2 ff. with borders.

Sopra scritte di Lettere in forma Cancelleresca, Corsiva, appartenenti ad ogni grado di persona; di S. Gagliardelli, scrittore in Fiorenza. *Stampato in Fiorenza, per l'autore*, s.a. [1583]. Obl. 4to. *B.M.*

HERCOLANI, GIULIANTONIO.

Essemplare Vtile Di tutte le sorti di l're cancelleresche correntissime, et altro vsate . . . Fatto da me G. Hercolani, Bolognese, 1571. Obl. 4to. *B.K.M.*

Loscrittor' utile et brieve segrêtario, da me G. A. Hercolani, fatt' in testimonio della mia divotissima servitu All Ill[r] M[or] il C[al] Sansisto . . . por giouare à tutti quegli, alli quali piacera. [*Bologna*,] 1574. Obl. fol. *Destailleur*, 865.

MANZONI, DOMENICO, *da Uderzo.*

Libretto molto utile per imparar a leggere, scrivere, & abaco. Con alcuni fondamenti della Dottrina Christiana.
Vinegia, 1546. 4to. *B.M.*

Libro Mercantile con suo Giornale et Alfabeto, per tener conti doppi al modo di Venetia, et potra servir in ogn' altto luogo, agiuntove alcune con necessarie et utili, a maggior intelligenza di ciascune. Con alcune sorti di litterere cancellaresche, mercantesche, et bastarde et due Alfabeti di miniature bellissimi di D. Manzoni da Uderzo.
In Venetia, 1564. 4to. *Destailleur*, 863.

PALATINO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA.

Libro nuovo d'imparare a scrivere tutte sorte lettere antiche e moderne di tutte nationi, con nuove regole misure et essempi. Con un breve & utile trattato de le Cifere. *Roma, A. Blado*, 1540. 4to. *B.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Roma*, 1544. *B.* 9048.

Libro di G. B. Palatino, cittadino romano, nel quel s'insegna a scrivere ogni sorte di lettera antica et moderna, di qualqunque natione, con le sue regole et misure, et essempi, et con un breve discorso de le cifre.
Roma, per Ant. Blado, 1545. 4to. *Brunet*, 9048.

— [Another edition.] *Roma, A. Blado*, 1547. *Brunet*, 9048.

Libro di M. Giovanbattista Palatino Cittadino Romano, Nel qual s'insegna à Scriuere ogni sorte lettera . . .
In Roma, in Campo di Fiore, per Antonio Blado Asolano, 1548. 4to. *B.M.*, *S.K.M.*, *B.K.M.*

Libro di M. Giovambattista Palatino Citadino Romano . . .
Roma, A. Blado, 1550. 4to. *B.M.*, *B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Roma*, 1553. 4to. *B.M.*

— [Another edition.]
Roma, Antonmaria Guidotto e Duodecimo Viotto, 1556. 4to. *B.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Roma, per Valerio Dorico*, 1561. 4to. *B.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Roma*, 1566. 8vo. *G. V., p.* 104.

Compendio del gran volume de l'arte del ben scrivere tutte le sorti di lettere et caratteri, con le lor regole, misure & esempi . . . Con un nuovo breve . . . discorso delle cifre. *Roma*, 1566. 4to. *B.M.*

PALATINO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA.

Libro Primo Delle Lettere Maiuscole Antiche Romane . . . nuouamente ritrouate et date a luce da G. B. Palatino Cittadino Romano. Libro Secondo Delle Maiuscole Romane Antiche Auuolte con Cartiglie . . . Libro Terzo . . . Libro Quarto . . . Libro Quinto . . . Libro Sesto.
Roma, 1575. Fol. *B.K.M.*

Compendio del gran volume de l'arte del bene et leggiadramente scrivere . . .
In Venetia, Appresso gli Heredi di Marchio Sessa, 1578. 4to.
B.M., *S.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Venetia*, 1588. *B.M.*

Giardino de Scrittori, nel quale si vede il vero modo di scriver facilissimamente tutte le sorte di lettere che al presente sono in uso, et che sono necessarie ad ogni qualita di Persona. Con un Alfabeto di Maiuscole Antiche Rom. fatte per ragion di Geometria.
Roma, 1598. Obl. 4to. *Destailleur*, 868.

SCALINO (*or* SCALZINI), MARCELLO.

Il Secretario di M. Scalino Detto il Camerino.
Venice, 1581. Obl. 4to. *B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Venice*, 1585. *Brunet*, 9054.

Il Secretario Di Marcello Scalzini Detto Il Camerino . . . Nelquale si vedono le varie & diuerse sorte & vere forme di lettere . . . da lui con molto studio ritrouate . . . *Venetia*, 1587. Obl. 4to. *B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] 1588.

Il Secretario, con le caratteri cancelleresche corsivi, con aggiunta di essempi fatta da lui in Turino, 20 Decbre, 1589.
Obl. 4to. *Rosenthal.*

Regole nuove et avertimenti co' quali' potra' imparar facilmente à scriver bene, et presto, senza riga, le cancelleresche corsive Romane, regine de' caratteri, inventate da lui. *Brescia*, 1591. *Brunet*, 9054.

TAGLIENTE, GIOVANNI ANTONIO.

Lo presente libro insegna la vera arte delo excellẽte scrivere de diverse varie sorti de litere lequali se fano per geometrica Ragione & Con la

TAGLIENTE, GIOVANNI ANTONIO.

pẽsente opera ognuno le potra a imparare impothi giorni p̄ lo amaistramento ragione Opera del tagliente nouamente composta cum gratia nel anno di nr̄a salute MDXXIIII.

Venice, 1524. 4to. *S.K.M.*

Libro maistreuole. Opera nouamente stampata del M.D.XXiiij in Venetia laquale insegna maistreuolmente con nuouo modo et arte a legere a li gradi et piccoli et alle donne che niente sanno in termine de mesi doi et piu et Manco, secondo lingegno de cui cercha imparare.

Venetia, 1524. 4to. *Brunet*, 9054.

— [Another edition.]
Vinegia, per Gio. Ant. e fratelli da Sabbio, 1529. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p. 20.*

— [Another edition.] *Venice*, 1530. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p. 20.*

— [Another edition.] *Venice*, 1531. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p. 20.*

— [Another edition.]
Stampato in Vineggia per maestro Stephano da Sabbio, 1532–3. Fol. *S.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Vineggia, S. da Sabbio*, 1534. Fol. *B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Venice*, 1539. *Graesse, VI., pt. 2, p. 20.*

— [Another edition.]
Stampato in Vinegia per Pietro de Nicolini de Sabbio, 1540. Fol. *B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.]
Venice. G. A. e P. frat. de Nic. da Sabio, 1542. 4to. *Rosenthal.*

— [Another edition.]
Antwerp, Joh. Loe, 1545. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p. 20.*

— [Another edition.]
Venice, Rampazetto, 1545. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p. 20.*

— [Another edition.]
Venice, Rampazetto, 1546. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p. 20.*

— [Another edition.]
Venice, Rampazetto, 1550. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p. 20.*

TAGLIENTE, GIOVANNI ANTONIO.

Libro maistreuole.

— [Another edition.]
Venice, per Pietro di Nicolini da Sabbio, 1551. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p.* 20.

— [Another edition.] *Venice*, 1561. 4to. *Brunet*, 9046.

— [Another edition.]
Venice, Rampazetto, 1563. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p.* 20.

— [Another edition.]
Venice, Rampazetto, 1565. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p.* 20.

VERINI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA.

Incipit liber primus (— quartus) Elementorum Litterarum I. B. de Verinis Florentini nouiter impressus. *Florence*, 1526. *S.K.M.*

VEROVIO, SIMONE.

[38 leaves engraved Italian Script.] 1587. *B.K.M.*

Essemplaro di lettere Cancellaresche corsive.
Roma, all insegna dell martello, 1593. Obl. 4to. *Rosenthal.*

VESPASIANO, AMPHIAREO, *Minoritano.*

Vno Nova Modo d'insegnar a scrivere et formar Lettere di piu Sorte, che da altri non prima d'hora usate : novamente da frate Vespasiano minoritano conventuale trovato, e da lui pur hora dato in luce.
Venice, 1548. Obl. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p.* 291.

Opera di Frate Vespasiano Amphiareo Da Ferrara . . . Nella quale si insegna a scrivere varie sorti di lettere . . .
In Vinegia Appresso Gabriel Giolito De Ferrari Et Fratelli, 1554. Obl. 4to. *B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Vinegia*, 1556. Obl. 4to. *B.M.*

— [Another edition.]
Venice, 1565. Obl. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p.* 291.

— [Another edition.] *Venice*, 1572. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p.* 291.

— [Another edition.]
In Venetia Appresso Gio. Antonio Rampazetto, 1588. Obl. 4to. *B.K.M.*

VESPASIANO, AMPHIAREO, *Minoritano.*

Il perfetto modo d'imparare a scrivere tutte le lettere cancellaresche corsive et moderne, che servi ad ogni conditione di persone. Col modo delle soprascrittioni di lettere missive ad ogni grado di gente.
Venice, 1555. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt. 2, p.* 291.

VIÇENTINO (LODOVICO DE HENRICIS).

Il Modo Et Regola da imparare di scriuere littera corsiua ouer cancellarescha nouamente composto per L. Vicentino Scrittore de' breui aplici. *In Roma*, 1522. 4to. *B.M., B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] Regola da imparare scrivere varij carateri de littere con li suoi compassi emisure et il modo di temperare le penne secondo la sorte de littere chevorrai scrivere.
Venetia, 1533. 4to. *B.M.*

— [Another edition.] Essemplario de Scrittori il quale insegna a scrivere diverse sorti di lettere. *Roma*, 1557. 4to. *B.M.*

— [Another edition.] La Operina de L. Vicentino da imparare di scrivere littera cancellarescha.
Roma, 1523. 4to. *B.M., Graesse VII., p.* 297.

Il modo de temperare le Penne Con le varie sorti de littere ordinato per L. Vicentino.
Stalata in Venetia per L. Vicentino Scrittore et Eustachio Celebrino Intagliatore. 1523. 4to. *B.M., B.K.M.*

SPAIN.

BRUN, ANDRES.

Arte Muy Provechoso Para Aprender De Escrivir Perfectamente . . . por el maestro A. Brun.
En Caragoça, En casa de Lorenço y Diego de Robles Hermanos, 1583. Fol. *B.K.M.*

LA CUESTA, JUAN DE.

Libro y tratado para enseñar leer y escrivir brevemente y con gran facilidad correta pronunciacion y verdadera ortographia todo Romance Castellano . . . Compuesto por J. de la Cuesta vezino de Valdenuño Fernandez.
En alcala en casa de Juan gracian, 1589. 4to. *Destailleur* 898.

LUCAS, FRANCISCO.

Arte de Escrivir de F. Lucas vezino de Seuilla, residente en corte de su Magestad . . .
En Madrid, En casa de Alonso Gomez, Impressor de su Magestad, 1577. 4to. *B.M.*, *S.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Madrid*, 1580. *B.K.M.*

YCIAR, JUAN DE.

Recopilacion subtilissima : intitulada Orthographia pratica : por la qual se enseña a escrivir perfectamente; ansi por practica como por geometria todas las suertes de letras que mas en nuestra España y fuera della se usan . . . Cortado por J. de Vingles, *etc.*
por B. de Nagera : Caragoça, 1548. 4to. *B.M.*, *B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.] *Caragoça*, 1550. 4to. *B.M.*

Arte subtilissima por la qual se ensena a escreuir perfectamente, Hecho y experimentado, y agora de nuevo añadido, por J. de Yciar, Vizcayno.
Imprimio se en Caragoça en casa de Pedro Bernuz, 1550. 8vo. *Destailleur* 896.

— [Another edition.]
Caragoça, 1553. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt.* 2, *p.* 496.

— [Another edition.]
Caragoça . . . en casa de Esteuã de Nagera, 1555. 4to. *Graesse VI., pt.* 2, *p.* 496.

— [Another edition.] *Caragoça*, 1556. *Graesse VI., pt.* 2, *p.* 496.

Libro subtilissimo por el qual se enseña a escrivir y contar perfamente . . . *Caragoça . . . en casa de Esteuan de Nagera*, 1559. 8vo. *Destailleur* 897.

— [Another edition.] *Caragoça*, 1564. *Rosenthal.*

— [Another edition.] *Caragoça*, 1566. *Brunet* 9050.

FRANCE.

BEAUCHESNE, JEHAN DE.

Le Thresor d'Escripture auquel est contenu tout ce qui est requis et nécessaire à tout amateur du dict art.

Paris, 1550. Obl. 4to. *Graesse I., p.* 315.

— [Another edition.] *Lyon*, 1580. Obl. 4to. *Graesse I., p.* 315.

BEAUCHESNE, J. DE, *and* BAILDON, John.

A booke containing divers sortes of hands, as well the English as French Secretarie with the Italian, Roman, Chancelry & court hands. Also the true and just proportiō of the capitall Romāe.

London, T. Vautrouillier, 1571. Obl. 4to. *B.M.*

BEAUGRAND, JEAN DE.

Panchrestographie de J. de Beaugrand escrivain du roy et de ses bibliothèques. s.l. 1597. *Graesse I., p.* 315.

Poecilographie Ou Diverses Escritures Propres Pour L'Usage Ordinaire, avec un méthode fort brève et facile pour les bien apprendre, par De Beaugrand, Parisien, Escrivain de la Royne et Me Juré à Paris.

Paris, 1598-1601. Obl. 4to. *Destailleur* 845.

BEAULIEU, SIEUR DE.

Exemplaires Du Sieur De Beaulieu, Ou sont monstrées fidellement toutes sortes de lettres et caractères de finances, chancelleries et autres de service, avec un méthodique instruction d'icelles. Livre premier.

À Montpellier, chez l'auteur, 1599. Obl. 4to. *Destailleur* 843.

BONFONS, NICOLAS.

Exemplaire pour bien et proprement escrire la lettre Françoise, contenant plusieurs sentences moralles de divers autheurs, pour l'instruction de la jeunesse.

À Paris, par N.F., s.a. Obl. 4to. *B.K.M.*

EXEMPLAIRE.

Exemplaire pour bien et proprement escrire la lettre françoise, contenant plusieurs beaux quatrains, composés la pluspart par un grand personnage de ce siècle à l'imitation de Phocylide et autres anciens poëtes grecs, avec les premieres et principales reigles d'arithmétique.

Lyon, par Ant. Gryphius, 1579. Fol. *Graesse II., p.* 537.

HAMON, P.

Alphabet De L'Invention Et Utilité Des Lettres, Et Karacteres : En Diverses Escritures. Par P. Hamon, B. Maistre De La Plvme d'Or.
A Paris, 1561. Obl. 4to. *B.K.M.*

— [Another edition.]
Chez Rob. Estienne, à Paris, 1567, Obl. 4to. *Destailleur* 840.

— [Another edition.] Reveu, Corrigé, et de nouveau augmenté, Par luy mesmes. *A Lyon*, 1580. Obl. 4to. *B.K.M.*

JAUSSERANDY, MAURICE.

[Receuil de Modèles d'écriture par M. Jausserandy Escrivain et Arithmeticien.]
Chez l'auteur en rue Saint Marc en Avignon, 1600. Obl. 4to. *Destailleur* 844.

LA RUE, JACQUES DE.

Alphabet de dissemblables sortes de lettres en vers alexandrins.
Paris [1550 ?]. Obl. 4to. *B.M.*

Exemplaires de plusieurs sortes de lettres de la main de J. de la Rue, escrivain et arithmeticien.
À Paris, chez Claude Micard [c. 1565]. Obl. 4to. *Destailleur* 839.

Premier livre de la bonne écriture françoise, contenant une instruction à la jeunesse par quatrains et distiques moraux.
Paris, Cl. Micard, 1578. Fol. *Graesse II., p.* 537, (*v. Exemplaire*).

LE GANGNEUR, GUILLAUME.

La Technographie ou Briefue methode pour paruenir à la parfaitte connoissance de l'écritture françoyse de l'invencion de G. Le Gangneur Angevin. *Paris*, 1599. Obl. 4to. *Destailleur* 842.

La Rizographie, Ou Les Sources, Elemens Et perfecçions de l'écritture Italiene. 1599. Obl. 4to. *Destailleur* 842.

La Caligraphie, Ou Belle Écriture De La Lettre Grecque . . .
1599. Obl. 4to. *Destailleur* 842.

TORY, GEOFROY.

Champ Fleury. Au quel est contenu Lart & Science de la deue et vraye Proportion des Lettres Attiques qu'on dit autrement Antiques, et vulgairement Lettres Romaines, proportionnees selon le Corps et Visage humain.

À Paris sus Petit Pont à Lenseigne du Pot Cassé par Maistre Geoffroy Tory de Bourges, 1529. 4to. *B.M.*

L'art et science de la vraye proportion des Lettres Attiques, ou Antiques . . .

Pour Viuant Gaultherot libraire iure en l'vniuersite de Paris, 1549. *S.K.M.*

SOME EARLY BOOK-ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE OPPENHEIM PRESS.

By GILBERT R. REDGRAVE.

Read, May 20, 1895.

DR. FALKENSTEIN, in his learned work on the history of printing, states that the first dated book printed at Oppenheim appeared in 1494, and Butsch tells us that Jacob Köbel established his press in that city in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Dr. Muther does not seem to have found any dated book of Köbel's before 1505, in which year he mentions two poems, one of which is illustrated and relates to a most marvellous hare, found at Niederflessheim. The animal in question had, we learn, two bodies, eight legs, and three eyes. According to the same authority no book printed by Köbel, at Oppenheim, has a date later than 1524, and the last work from his press would seem, according to him, to have been the *Legende von St. Rupprecht*, with four illustrations of that year. Graesse, however, gives a date of a year later for the *Neues Rechenbüchlein*, in duodecimo, of 1525. Köbel, who is stated by Butsch to have likewise practised wood-engraving, was evidently a man of distinction in Oppenheim and he describes himself as the town clerk, or "Protonotarius." Whether he is identical with the artist whose initials occur frequently as "I.K." on designs between 1535

and 1550, notably in the *Wapen des Heylichen Römischen Reichs*, printed at Frankfort on the Maine, by Cyriacus Jacob, in 1545, seems very problematical, though the introduction to one edition of this book is no doubt by Jacob Köbel. I will refer to this matter later. It may have possibly been his son who designed the wood-cuts found in this work, 144 in number, which are most spirited and characteristic in their execution.

Butsch states that Köbel was the first German printer to employ initial letters of a thoroughly renaissance character. In giving him credit, however, for the introduction of the new style into Germany, he overlooks the fact that Erhard Ratdolt returned to Augsburg in 1486, and brought back with him from Venice the beautiful wood-cut initial letters which had made the books he there printed in the ten years, between 1476 and 1486, so famous. Many of these letters are found in the subsequent works issued from his press during the remaining years of the century, and though in his later activity at Augsburg, Ratdolt forsook to some extent the richness and perfection of workmanship so characteristic of his Italian productions, he did not fail to issue numerous church books, missals, and editions of mathematical works, and in these he reproduces the beautiful illustrations which made his Venetian books so conspicuous in the annals of printing.

It seems all the more necessary to remember the work of Ratdolt because it becomes evident, when we examine the book-illustrations, and more especially the initial letters, produced by Köbel that he, or the artist he employed, was largely indebted to the labours of the Augsburg printer. Certain of the initial letters found in the early books, printed at Oppenheim, are fac-similes of the letters used by Ratdolt, and it is only when natural foliage and plants realistically treated are substituted for the graceful conventional forms employed in the Venetian letters that we can find any fault with Köbel's designs. Butsch has reproduced, in his admirable *Bücherornamentik der Frührenaissance*, two pages of initial letters found in the Oppenheim books, and among them are several letters of both types,

viz.: those in which the characteristic sgraffito manner of Ratdolt is followed with fully conventionalised ornament, and the somewhat naturalistic imitations of this treatment, which are representative of the more original work of the Oppenheim printer, and I have reproduced (Fig. 1) a few of these letters to illustrate my paper.

But I wish first to call your attention to a rare little quarto volume which comes to me from the Lakelands Library, and which furnishes still more striking evidence of the relation between the Oppenheim press and that of Ratdolt. This work, which is undated, is entitled *Passio Domini, litteraliter et moraliter ab Henrico de Firmaria explanata.* The title-page is surrounded with a beautiful border (Fig. 2), consisting of four rules, composed of conventional ornament of scroll-work and foliage on a dotted background, which serves as a frame-work to a wood-cut of the "Descent from the Cross," in the style of Urs Graf, or the South German school of the beginning of the sixteenth century. It will be evident, on comparing the scroll-work border with that of the *Kalendarium*, of Regiomontanus, printed by Ratdolt, at Venice, in 1476, that the designer of the Oppenheim title-page has had this wood-cut before him, and that he has taken his inspiration from this model. In fact, all that the Oppenheim artist has done is to add the shading and a black background dotted with white. This white dotwork was a method of breaking up the solid black background, which was not, so far as I am aware, extensively used for woodcut backgrounds in Italy until about 1512. It was a mode of execution which was probably derived from the criblée work of an earlier date. Isolated examples of the use of white dots occur, of course, somewhat earlier, and I have with me a copy of the treatise on Arithmetic, by the Frater Lucas de Burgo, printed at Venice, in 1494, by Paganino de Paganinis de Brixia, in which certain initial letters, notably the *L* within the beautiful interlacing border on the recto of fol. 9, appear with a dotted ground, such as I have described. This is the first example I have discovered in an Italian book of this method of treatment. Several more

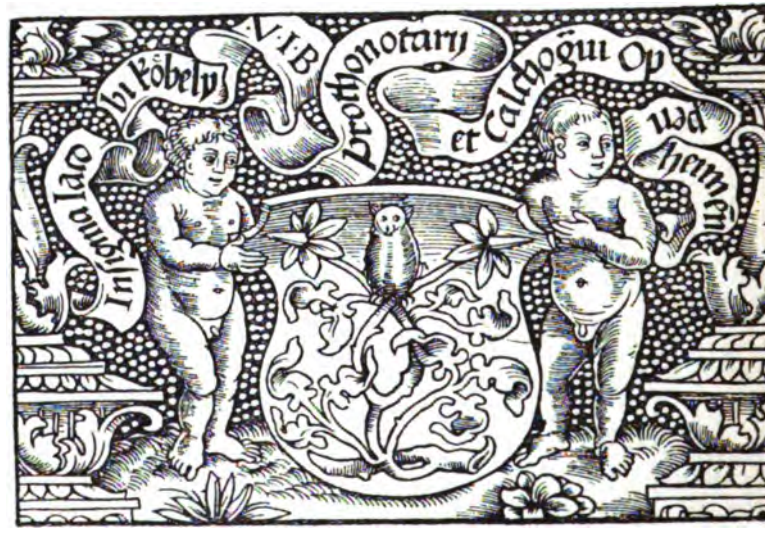
IMITATED FROM RATDOLT.

ORIGINAL.

1. INITIAL LETTERS USED BY KÖBEL AT OPPENHEIM.

2. TITLE-PAGE TO THE "PASSIO DOMINI," PRINTED BY KÖBEL.

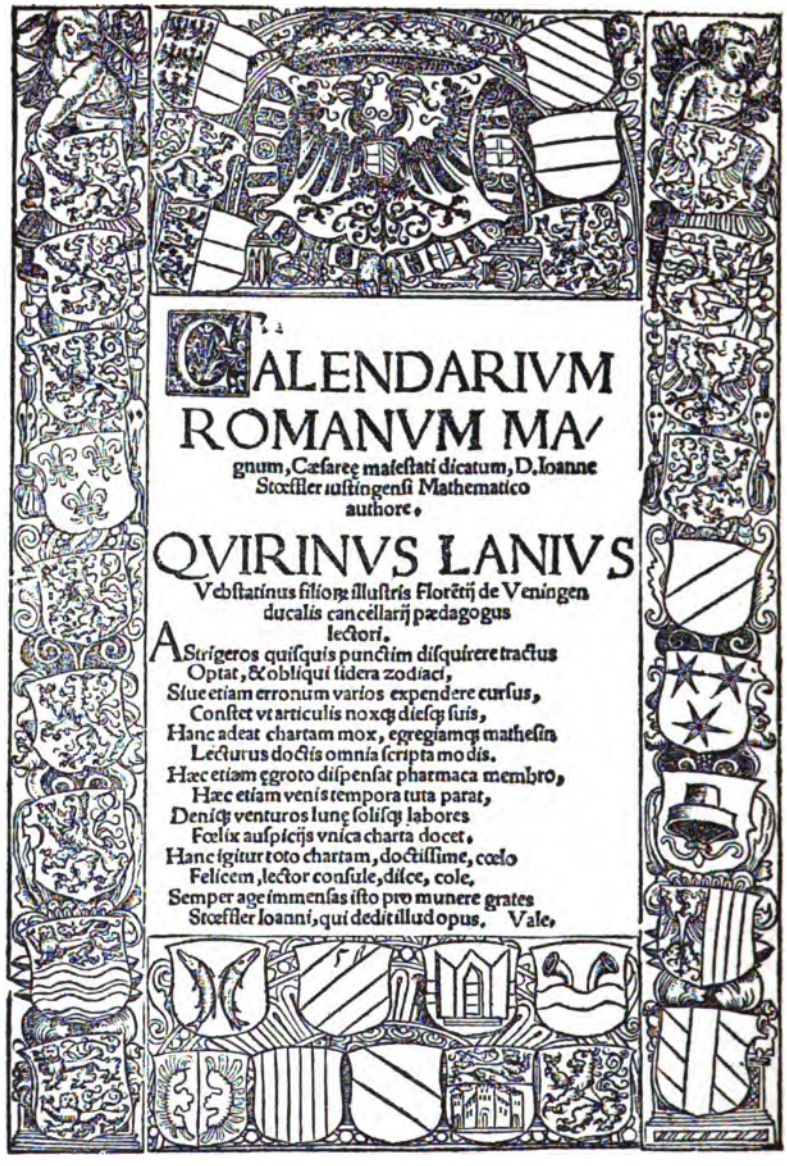
instances occur in the *De Claris Mulieribus* of Philippus Bergoniensis Ferrara, 1497; but there the dots are so large as to appear to represent a snowfall, behind certain of the portraits of famous ladies. It will be seen that in De Burgo's work the background in the border behind the strap-work is not relieved with dots. Köbel's printer's mark (Fig. 3) which occurs along with a colophon, dated 1512, in the *Elucidatio fabricæ ususque Astrolabii*, furnishes an excellent specimen of this treatment.



3. PRINTER'S MARK OF J. KÖBEL FROM THE *Elucidatio Astrolabii* OF 1513.

The *Passio Domini* is illustrated with twenty woodcuts of scenes of the Passion, which bear a marked resemblance to the small Passion engraved by Urs Graf, produced in Strasburg in 1507. The book also contains one large, one medium sized, and seven small initial letters. With the single exception of the largest letter, a *C*, the designs are of the conventionalized type. The work contains sixteen leaves, signatures A to D.

We will now glance at the *Calendarium* of J. Stöffler, issued in 1518, which is probably the best known specimen of Köbel's press, though in many respects it is surpassed by the earlier treatise of the same author already mentioned, describing the construction and use of the astrolabe. Butsch scarcely does justice, I think, to the ornamental borders of Köbel, for he dismisses them in a single sentence with the somewhat slighting observation that they are inferior in merit to the initial letters. The title-border of the *Calendarium* (Fig. 4), which consists of four rules composed of the armorial devices of the chief states of Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland, is twice repeated, for with the exception of the lower rule the same wood-cuts occur as the framework to the singular "Simulacrum humani corporis," on the recto of p. 14, indicating the proper places for letting blood at various seasons. The seventy-four pages of introductory matter are followed by an "Abacus Regionum per totam ferme Europam," occupying twelve pages in double columns. At the foot of each column is a small woodcut of a town or a battle. Many blocks are used several times, so that there are only ten designs in all. Some of the towns are real representations of places, as for instance, that of Venice on fol. A 6. After this table comes the calendar proper on twelve leaves. The title to this section is a fine specimen of printing in small Italian capitals in red and black. Next come some wood-blocks, shewing the eclipses of the sun and moon from 1518 to 1573 and astronomical tables for the years 1518 to 1579 inclusive, and finally certain wood-cuts of instruments for astronomical calculations, certainly borrowed from Joh. Regiomontanus whose work served as the basis for Stöffler's treatise. There is also a letter from the printer to the reader, asking him to be lenient towards his errors, and a long table of Errata. This work is prized partly on account of the excellence of the tables calculated by Stöffler, who was a professor at the University of Tubingen and one of the most eminent astronomers of the age, and also for the small wood-cuts at the foot of each page of the calendar, representing the occupations of the husbandman throughout the year.



CALENDARIVM
ROMANVM MA/
gnum, Cæsareę maiestati dicatum, D. Ioanne
Stœffler iustingensi Mathematico
authore.

QVIRINVS LANIVS
Vebstatinus filiorũ illustris Florẽtij de Veningen
ducalis cancellarij pædagogus
lectori.

AStrigeros quisquis punctim disquirere tractus
Optat, & obliqui sidera zodiaci,
Siue etiam erronum varios expendere cursus,
Constet vt articulis noxq; diesq; suis,
Hanc adeat chartam mox, egregiamq; mathesin
Lecturus doctis omnia scripta modis.
Hæc etiam ęgroto dispensat pharmaca membro,
Hæc etiam venis tempora tuta parat,
Denicq; venturos lunę solisq; labores
Fœlix auspicijs vnica charta docet.
Hanc igitur toto chartam, doctissime, cœlo
Felicem, lector consule, disce, cole.
Semper age immensas isto pro munere grates
Stœffler Ioanni, qui dedit illud opus. Vale.

4. TITLE-PAGE TO STÖFFLER'S CALENDARIUM OF 1518. (REDUCED.)

The large initial letter *V* on p. 1, is directly copied from the design of Ratdolt, and numerous examples of capital letters imitated from the works of the same printer occur throughout. A German version of this calendar was issued by Köbel, in 1522.

To my mind Stöffler's earlier treatise on the Astrolabe is a more interesting, though certainly a less familiar, example of Köbel's press. This book is not even mentioned by Dr. Muther. It bears on the title-page, which contains the same ornamental border as that found in the calendar, the date 1513, but the date of the colophon on the recto of fol. 78 is 1512. This latter has a fine printer's mark of Köbel, which claims for him his university degree and his official title set forth in the following inscription on a twisted label:—"Insignia Jacobi Köbely, V.I.B., prothonotarii et Calchoğui Oppenheimen̄." Köbel's device was an owl in a bush on a shield held up by two amorini. Another armorial device appears on the verso of fol. XII of the introductory matter. This wood-cut contains three shields, one of them blank. The illustrations found in this book are very quaint and characteristic and are extremely original in conception. There are numerous initial letters of both the types I have already described, and of several different sizes. On one of the smaller wood-cuts is a monogram which may perhaps be the means of tracing the artist employed. The letters appear to be "A.T.H." Certain of the diagrams in this book are excellent examples of the art of the wood engraver at this early date, and there is a refinement and beauty about the get-up of this work which cannot fail to impress the reader.

I cannot now pretend to do more than refer in the briefest possible way to the subsequent activity of this artist printer, when he ceased to work at Oppenheim in or about 1525, but on this point Nagler's *Monogrammisten Lexikon* may be studied with advantage. The initials "I.K.," if they indeed indicate Köbel's workmanship, are found in many later book-illustrations, as has already been mentioned, and I have selected a few examples from my own collection. I may point out that the attribu-

tion of these "I.K." engravings to Köbel rests upon very slender evidence. The quaint edition of Boccaccio's work *De claris Mulieribus*, printed at Berne by Mathias Apiarius or Bienenvater, in 1539, contains numerous wood-cuts signed with these initials "I.K.," together with the dagger or sheath-knife, which generally accompanies this signature. In most cases the letters are placed on a square stone, or a fragment of rock, with the knife in its sheath above them, but in some places the monogram appears on a tablet or upon some object in the picture, as for instance in the illustration to *Semiramis* on fol. 2, where it occurs on the column. The most extraordinary illustration in this book is that of the accouchement of Pope Joan in the streets of Rome, on the verso of fol. 73, and here the letters "I.K." are placed upside down. The work is one, I believe, seldom met with.

The *Catalogus Annorum et principum*, by Valerius Anselmus Ryd, which appeared at Berne, in 1550, which is the work of the same printer, has a good example of the "I.K." monogram on the verso of fol. 4, Noah and his sons. The large wood block shewing our first parents and their posterity, on the recto of fol. 1, has the dagger alone, over which a snail is crawling. The snail appears to have been another of the marks used by the engraver "I.K."

The press of Oppenheim, which in the early days of German printing deserves, as I have attempted to show, a very distinguished place, speedily sank into insignificance and hardly outlived the activity of the first printer, whose work I am, however, persuaded will well repay careful study.

A LIST OF BOOKS AND PAPERS ON PRINTERS AND PRINTING, UNDER THE COUNTRIES AND TOWNS TO WHICH THEY REFER.

COMPILED BY THE LATE TALBOT BAINES REED.

PREFACE.

AT the time when Mr. Talbot B. Reed was first struck down by the illness which a few months later cut short a life of so much useful activity, he had in preparation a paper, which should have been read at the Meeting on March 20th, 1893. Of the paper, if any of it was ever written, no trace can be found, so that not even its intended scope, nor its title, is on record. Some time, however, after Mr. Reed's untimely death, Mr. A. F. Blades came to me with the proofs, in "galley" or "slip," of a list of books on printers and printing which Mr. Reed had prepared as an appendix to his paper. A glance at the proofs was sufficient to show their value, and both for their intrinsic importance and in loyalty to my predecessor's memory it was impossible to allow so much useful work to be wasted. During the last twelvemonth, therefore, I have tried, as far as my scanty leisure permitted, to bring the proofs into the shape Mr. Reed would have desired had he lived to finish his own work, and by the aid of Dr. Burger, Dr. Dziatzko and Dr. Joachim for the German titles, Monsieur Claudin and Mademoiselle Pellechet for the French, and other kind helpers, I have been able to bring my task to a much greater completeness than I anticipated. It is possible that in nearly doubling the German entries, and more than doubling the French, I may have deviated from some plan of selection which Mr. Reed had in his mind, but which the absence of any memoranda on the subject made it difficult to trace. The special help I have received from these two countries has resulted in the entries under them being, perhaps, disproportionately numerous, and I am afraid that many of the smaller French monographs will be found very

difficult to procure. For Italy I have been content to substitute a reference to the bibliographies of Signori Ottino and Fumagalli instead of multiplying entries of the less important class, and in other countries I have doubtless missed many small books which Mr. Reed, had he lived, would have added to his list. The section on the "Invention Controversy" is an addition of my own, and I have also added references to a few works on Book Illustrations, in which I take a special interest. I am responsible, too, for the arrangement of the entries under each heading being mainly chronological. In all this I have exercised my judgment to the best of my ability, and any shortcomings must be laid to my account, and to mine only. The loss of Mr. Reed's explanatory paper is irreparable, but I cannot doubt that the list, with its arrangement under countries and towns, will be of real service to workers, and I am proud and glad to have had a hand in making it available for the Society of which Mr. Reed was one of the founders, and for which he did so much.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

GENERAL TREATISES AND BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

[SELECTED.]

PANZER (Georg Wolfgang). Annales Typographici, ab artis inventæ origine ad annum M.D., *etc.* 11 vols. *Norimbergæ*, 1793–1803. 4to.

—— Conspectus Monumentorum Typographicorum seculi decimi quinti, ad ductum annalium typographicorum hujus seculi a se editorum depositus. *Norimbergæ*, 1797. 4to.

HAIN (Ludovicus). Repertorium Bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum M.D. typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur. *Stuttgartiae et Tubingae, sumptibus J. G. Cottae*, 1826. 8vo.

—— Indices uberrimi operâ C. Burger. *Lipsiæ*, 1891. 8vo.

—— Supplement to Hain's Repertorium. By W. A. Copinger. *In the Press.*

MAITTAIRE (M.). Annales Typographici. 5 vols. *Hagæ-Comitum*, 1719–41. 4to.

—— Supplementum. Adornavit M. Denis. 2 vols. *Viennæ*, 1789. 4to.

MARCHAND (Pr.). Histoire de l'origine et des premiers progrès de l'imprimerie. *À La Haye, chez la veuve Le Vier, et Pierre Paupie*, 1740. 4to.

[*Pages 54 to 93 contain a "Liste des prémières éditions de chacune des villes où l'imprimerie s'est établie pendant les 36 dernières années du XVe siècle." A supplement was issued, Paris, 1773, 4to.; and another supplement, with corrections, Paris, 1775. 4to.*]

SERNA-SANTANDER (C. A. de la). Dictionnaire bibliographique choisi du quinzième siècle . . . précédé d'un Essai historique sur l'origine de l'Imprimerie, ainsi que sur l'histoire de son établissement dans les villes, bourgs, monastères, et autres endroits de l'Europe, etc. 3 vols.
Bruxelles et Paris, An XIII-XV. (1805–7).

COTTON (Rev. Hy.). A Typographical Gazetteer attempted.
Oxford, 1821. 8vo.
Second edition. *Oxford*, 1852. 8vo.
Second series. *Oxford*, 1866. 8vo.

TERNAUX-COMPANS (H.). Notice des Imprimeries qui existent, ou ont existé en Europe. 2 plates. *Paris*, 1843. 8vo.
Supplément. *Paris*, 1849. 8vo.
Nouvelles additions. *Paris*, 1860. 8vo.

BERNARD (Aug. Jos). De l'Origine et des Débuts de l'Imprimerie en Europe. 2 vols. *Paris*, 1853. 8vo.

WEIGEL (T. O.). Verzeichniss der xylographischen Bücher des XV. Jahrhunderts. *Leipzig*, 1856. 8vo.

SOTHEBY (S. L.). Principia Typographica. The Block-books issued in Holland, Flanders and Germany, during the 15th century, *etc.* 3 vols.
London, 1858. 4to.

BRUNET (J. Ch.). Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres, contenant I° un nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique, *etc.* Cinquième édition. 6 vols. *Paris, Firmin Didot*, 1860–65. 8vo.

Supplement by P. DESCHAMPS et G. BRUNET. 2 vols.
Paris, Firmin Didot, 1878–80. 8vo.

GRAESSE (J. G. T.). Trésor de livres rares et precieux; ou Nouveau Dictionnaire bibliographique. 7 vols. *Dresde*, 1859–69. 4to.

BERJEAU (J. Ph.). Early Dutch, German, and English Printers' Marks.
London, 1866. 8vo.

HUMPHREYS (H. N.). History of the Art of Printing from its invention, to its wide-spread development in the middle of the sixteenth century, *etc.*
London, 1868. fol.

—— Masterpieces of the early Printers and Engravers; series of facsimiles from rare and curious books, remarkable for illustrative devices, beautiful borders, decorative initials, printers' marks, and elaborate title pages.
London, 1870. fol.

BRUNET (J. C.). Dictionnaire de Géographie ancienne et moderne à l'usage du Libraire et de l'amateur de livre, etc., par un Bibliophile. *Paris*, 1870. 8vo.

CAXTON CELEBRATION, 1877. Catalogue of the Loan Collection of Antiquities, Curiosities and Appliances connected with the Art of Printing. Edited by Geo. Bullen, Esq., F.S.A. *London*, [1877]. 4to.

BUTSCH (A. F.) Die Bücherornamentik der Renaissance, eine Auswahl stylvoller Titeleinfassungen, Initialen, Leisten, Vignetten, und Druckerzeichen hervorragender italienischer, deutscher, und französischer Officinen aus der Zeit der Frührenaissance. Nach der eigenen Sammlung herausgegeben und erlautert von A. F. Butsch. *Leipzig*, 1878. 4to.

BIGMORE and WYMAN. A Bibliography of Printing. With notes and illustrations. 2 vols. *London*, 1880. 4to.

FAULMANN (C.). Illustrirte Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst. *Wien*, [1881, etc.] 8vo.

HAWKINS (Rush C.). Titles of the first books from the earliest presses established in different Cities, Towns, and Monasteries in Europe, before the end of the fifteenth century, with brief notes upon their printers. Illustrated with reproductions, etc. *New York*, 1884. 4to.

QUARITCH (Bernard). Monuments of the Early Printers in all countries, preceded by some examples of the Art of Xylography. 6 parts. *London*, 1886-7. 8vo.

LIPPMANN (Friedrich). Druckschriften des XV bis XVIII Jahrhunderts in getreuen Nachbildungen herausgegeben von der Direction der Reichsdruckerei unter Mitwirkung von Dr. F. Lippmann und Dr. R. Dohme. *Berlin*, 1884-87. fol.

LINDE (A. v. d.). Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Boekdrukkunst. *Gent*, 1887. 8vo.

COPINGER (W. A.). Incunabula Biblica ... a bibliographical account of the various editions of the Latin Bible between 1450 and 1500. *London*, 1892. 4to.

DUFF (E. G.). Early Printed Books. *London*, 1893. 8vo.

COPINGER (W. A.). Printed Sources from which collections towards a supplement to Hain's Repertorium Typographicum might be compiled. (Transactions of the Bibliographical Society. Vol. 1., pp. 44-59). *London*, 1893. 4to.

COPINGER (W. A.). Incunabula Virgiliana, a bibliographical account of the various editions of Virgil during the fifteenth century. (Transactions of the Bibliographical Society. Vol. 2). *London*, 1895. 4to.

INVENTION CONTROVERSY.

GROLIER CLUB. A description of the early printed books owned by the Grolier Club, with a brief account of their printers, and the history of typography in the fifteenth century.
New York, 1895. 4to.

The catalogue registers, in most instances with facsimiles, the majority of the works up to 1551 *which contain references to the invention of printing. A few others will be found mentioned in the two books by Dr. Hessels, entered below.*

FICHETUS (Gulielmus). G. Ficheti... quam ad R. Gaguinum de Johanne Gutenberg et de artis impressoriæ in Gallia primordiis necnon de orthographiae utilitate conscripsit epistola. Ad exemplar ut videtur unicum in aedibus Sorbonæ anno MCCCLXXII impressum ... denuo edidit L. Sieber.
Basileæ, 1887. 8vo.

DE VINNE (T. L.). The Invention of Printing. *London*, 1877. 4to.

BLADES (W.). Who was the inventor of printing? *London*, 1887. 8vo.

FISCHER (G.). Essai sur les monumens typographiques de Jean Gutenberg, mayençais, inventeur de l'imprimerie.
Mayence, an 10 [1802]. 4to.

DAHL (C.). Peter Schöffer von Gernsheim Miterfinder der Buchdruckerkunst. Eine historische Skizze; mit einer kurzen Geschichte der Erfindung jener schönen Kunst überhaupt.
Wiesbaden, 1814. 8vo.

DAHL (J.). Die Buchdruckerkunst, erfunden von Johann Gutenberg, verbessert und zur Vollkommenheit gebracht durch P. Schöffer von Gernsheim: historisch-kritische Abhandlung.
Mainz, 1832. 8vo.

SCHAAB (C.). Kritische Bemerkungen über Dahls neueste Schrift: P. Schöffer, Miterfinder der Buchdruckerkunst: Mainz, 1832.
Mainz, 1833. 8vo.

KUELB (P. H.). Pet. Schoeffer, der Vollender der Buchdruckerkunst.
Gernsheim, 1836. 8vo.

L. (A. v.). Haarlems regt op de eer van de uitvinding der Boekdrukkunst gehandhaafd: op beknopt overzigt van den stand der zaak, vooral na het onderzoek van den Heer de Vries, en de toelichtingen van de Heeren Schinkel en Noordziek. Door A. v. L. Tweede druk.
Amsterdam, 1848. 8vo.

HAARLEM. Catalogus van voorwerpen ingezonden ter algemeene Typographische Tentoonstelling ghouden te Haarlem, bij gelegenheid der plegtige onthulling van het metalen standbeeld van Lourens Janszoon Coster.
[*Haarlem*, 1856]. 8vo.

VRIES (A. de). Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der uitvinding van de boekdrukkunst (door L. J. Koster te Haarlem).
[1860?]. 8vo.

—— Lijst der stukken betrekkelijk de geschiedenis van de uitvinding der boekdrukkunst berustende op het Raadhuis te Haarlem.
Haarlem, 1862. 8vo.

MEURS (P. van). De Keulsche Kroniek [entitled "Die Cronica van der hilligen Stat vā Coellē," etc., 1499] en de Costerlegende van Dr. A. van der Linde te zamen getoetst.
Haarlem, 1870. 8vo.

LINDE (A. van der). La Légende Costerienne de Haarlem. Nouvel examen critique, ... précédé d'une introduction historique par C. Ruelens.
Bruxelles, 1871. 8vo.

—— The Haarlem Legend of the invention of printing by L. J. Coster, critically examined. From the Dutch by J. H. Hessels, with an introduction, *etc.*
London, 1871. 8vo.

—— Gutenberg. Geschichte und Erdichtung aus der Quellen nachgewiesen.
Stuttgart, 1878. 8vo.

HESSELS (J. H.). Gutenberg: was he the inventor of printing? An historical investigation embodying a criticism on Dr. van der Linde's "Gutenberg."
London, 1882. 8vo.

LINDE (A. van der). Quellenforschungen zur Geschichte der Erfindung der Typographie.
Wiesbaden, 1884. 8vo.

—— Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckkunst. 3 vols.
Berlin, 1886. 4to.
[*Contains a full bibliography of works treating of the Invention of Printing Controversy.*]

HESSELS (J. H.). Haarlem the birth-place of printing, not Mentz.
London, 1887. 8vo.

STORCHIUS (P.). Bericht von Erfindung der Buchdruckerey in Strasbourg.
Strasbourg, 1640. 4to.

LICHTENBERGER (J. F.). Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst zur Ehrenrettung Strassburgs und vollständiger Niderlegung der Sagen von Harlem ... Mit einen Vorberichte von J. G. Schweighäuser.
Strassburg, 1824. 8vo.

—— Histoire de l'invention de l'imprimerie, pour servir de défense à la ville de Strasbourg contre les prétentions de Harlem, *etc.* *Strasbourg*, 1825. 8vo.

LABORDE (L. E. S. J. de), *Marquis*. Débuts de l'imprimerie à Strasbourg, ou Recherches sur les travaux mysterieux de Gutenberg dans cette ville, et sur les procès qui lui fut intenté en 1439 à cette occasion. *Paris*, 1840. 8vo.

FORNARI (P.). P. Castaldi, maestro dal stampo. *Milano*, 1880. 8vo.

BERBAN (F.). La invenzione della stampa a tipo mobile fuso rivendicata all' Italia. *Firenze*, 1882. 8vo.

MONNOYER (C.). Recherches sur les origines de l'imprimerie avant Gutenberg. *Le Mans*, 1888. 8vo.

See also FRANCE—AVIGNON.

ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

ENGLAND.

AMES (Jos.). Typographical Antiquities; being an historical account of printing in England; with some memoirs of our antient printers, and a register of the books printed by them, from the year 1471, to the year 1600; with an appendix concerning printing in Scotland and Ireland to the same time. *London*, 1749. 4to.

—— Typographical Antiquities: or an historical account of the origin and progress of printing in Great Britain and Ireland . . . Considerably augmented . . . by W. Herbert. 3 vols. *London*, 1785–90. 4to.

—— Typographical Antiquities . . . Greatly enlarged, with copious notes and engravings, by T. F. Dibdin. Vols. 1–4. *London*, 1810–19. 4to.

JOHNSON (H.). Typographia; or, the Printers' Instructor; including an account of the origin of printing, with biographical notices of the printers of England, from Caxton to the close of the Sixteenth century, *etc.* 2 vols. *London*, 1824. 8vo.

TIMPERLEY (C. H.). A Dictionary of Printers, &c. *London*, 1839. 8vo.

DUFF (E. Gordon). Early English Printing. A portfolio of facsimiles of every type used by English printers and in English books printed abroad, during the 15th century. Selected and edited, with an introduction, by E. Gordon Duff. [*In the press*]. *Kegan Paul & Co.: London.*

BRITISH MUSEUM.—Catalogue of Books in the Library of the British Museum printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Books in English, printed abroad, to the year 1640. 3 vols.
London, 1884. 8vo.

MAITLAND (S. R.). Index to English Books printed before MDC., in Lambeth Archiepiscopal Library. *Privately printed, London*, 1843. 8vo.

SINKER (Robert). A Catalogue of the English books printed before MDCI. now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.
Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co. 1885. 8vo. pp. xvi. 448.

GROLIER CLUB. Catalogue of original and early editions of some of the poetical and prose works of English writers from Langland to Wither. With collations and notes and eighty-seven facsimiles of title-pages and frontispieces. Being a contribution to the bibliography of English literature.* *Imprinted at New York for the Grolier Club*, 1893. 8vo.

HAZLITT (W. C.). Handbook to the Popular, Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain, from the invention of printing to the Restoration. *London*, 1867. 8vo.

—— Collections and notes, 1867–1876. *London*, 1876. 8vo.

—— Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature, 1474–1700. *London*, 1882. 8vo.

—— Third and Final Series. *London*, 1887. 8vo.

—— Supplements to the Third and Final Series. *London*, 1889. 8vo.

—— A General Index to Hazlitt's Handbook and his Bibliographical Collections. 1867–1889. By C. J. Gray. *London*, 1893. 8vo
[This gives references for printers and stationers.]

ALLNUTT (W. H.). Notes on Printers and Printing in the provincial towns of England and Wales. A paper read at the first annual meeting of the Library Association of the United Kingdom, Oct. 3, 1878 (at Oxford).

* This is inserted for its full collations and facsimiles. For this branch of bibliography see Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*, Collier's *Bibliographical Account of English Literature*, the Catalogues of the Spencer (Vol. 4), Devonshire, Huth, and Rowfant Libraries, &c., &c.

With an Appendix, "Table of Places in England and Wales, with their Earliest Specimens of Typography." *London*, 1879. Folio.

ALLNUTT (W. H.). English Provincial Presses. (*Bibliographica*, Parts 5–7.) *London*, 1895. 8vo.

QUANTIN (A.). Les origines de l'imprimerie et son introduction en Angleterre, d'après des récentes publications anglaises. *Paris*, 1877. 8vo.

REED (T. B.). History of the old English Letter Foundries. *London*, 1887. 4to.

HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS (J. O.). Dictionary of Misprints in printed books of the 16th and 17th centuries. *Brighton*, 1887. 4to.

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ROWLANDS (Wm.). Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry, etc. Cambrian Bibliography, containing an account of the books printed in the Welsh language, or relating to Wales, from the year 1546 to the end of the eighteenth century, with biographical notes. *Llanidloes*, 1869. 8vo.

SCOTLAND.

DICKSON (Robt.) and EDMOND (T. P.) Annals of Scottish Printing. From the introduction of the art in 1507 to the beginning of the 17th century. 2 pts. *Cambridge*, 1890. 4to.

DICKSON (R.). Who was Scotland's first Printer? *London*, 1881. 12mo.

DICKSON (R.). Introduction of the art of printing into Scotland. *Aberdeen*. 1885. 8vo.

IRELAND.

FOLDS (Geo.). Specimens of National Typography, exhibiting the Execution of the Press of Ireland. *Dublin*, 1833. 8vo.

ABERDEEN.—EDMOND (T. P.). Hand-list of Books printed at Aberdeen.
Aberdeen, 1884. 8vo.

—— —— The Aberdeen Printers; Edward Raban to James Nicol, 1620–1736.
Aberdeen, 1886. 8vo.

—— —— Last notes on the Aberdeen Printers.
Aberdeen, 1888. 4to.

BELFAST.—ANDERSON (John.). Catalogue of Early Belfast Printed Books, 1694–1830. New and enlarged Edition.
Belfast, 1870. fol.

BIRMINGHAM.—*Baskerville.*—REED (Talbot B.). History of the Old English Letter Foundries. Chap. xiii. John Baskerville.
London, 1887. 4to.

CAMBRIDGE.—BRADSHAW (Henry). On the Books printed by John Siberch, at Cambridge, in 1521–2. [Being the Introduction to a facsimile reprint of *Bullock's Oratio*, 1521, produced in a series of works entitled *First Printing at Cambridge*, published by Macmillan and Bowes.]
Cambridge, 1886. 4to.

—— BOWES (Robert). A Catalogue of Books printed at, or relating to, the University, Town, or County of Cambridge, 1521–1893. With bibliographical and biographical notes. *Cambridge*, 1894. 8vo.

DEVONSHIRE.—DREDGE (J. J.). Devon Booksellers and Printers in the 17th and 18th centuries. Reprinted from the *Western Antiquary*. *Plymouth*, 1885. 4to.

EDINBURGH.—*Bassandyne.* DOBSON (W. T.). History of the Bassandyne Bible.
Edinburgh, 1887. 8vo.

—— *Ruddiman.* CHALMERS (George). The Life of Thomas Ruddiman, M.A., etc.
London, 1794. 8vo.

GLASGOW.—*Foulis.* FERGUSON (S.). The Brothers Foulis and early Glasgow Printing.
London, 1889. 8vo.

HAMPSHIRE.—EDWARDS (F. A.). Early Hampshire Printers.
Southampton, [1891]. 8vo.

LONDON and WESTMINSTER.—ARBER (Edw.). A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D. 5 vols.
London, 1875–94. 4to.

The Index volume contains a List of the London Publishers, 1553–1640, and a "Bibliographical Summary of English Literature," arranged under Printers, from 1553–1603.

—— NEGUS (Samuel). A compleat and private List of all the Printing Houses in and about the City of London and Westminster, together with the Printers' names, what newspapers they print, and where they are to be

found; also an account of the printing-houses in the several Corporation Towns in England. Most humbly laid before the Right Honorable the Lord Viscount Townshend.
London, 1724. 8vo.

—— *Caxton.* MIDDLETON (Conyers). A Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England. Shewing that it was first Introduced and Practised by our countryman, Mr. Caxton, at Westminster, and not, as is commonly believed, by a foreign Printer at Oxford.
Cambridge, 1735. 4to.

—— —— LEWIS (John). The Life of Mayster Wyllyam Caxton, of the Weald of Kent; the first Printer in England. In which is given an account of the Rise and Progress of the Art of Pryntyng in England during his time, till 1493.
London, 1737. 8vo.

—— —— BLADES (Wm.). The Life and Typography of William Caxton, &c. 2 vols.
London, 1861–3. 4to.

—— —— —— Biography and Typography of Caxton.
London, 1882. 8vo.

—— —— BLADES (R. H.). Who was Caxton? A monograph. [By R. H. B., *i.e.*, Rowland H. Blades.] *London*, 1877, 8vo.

—— —— PRICE (Francis Compton). Facsimiles illustrating the labours of William Caxton at Westminster, and the introduction of printing into England.
London, 1877. 4to.
See also COLOGNE.

—— *Bankes, Kele, Allde, etc.* PLOMER (H. R.). The Long-Shop in the Poultry. [In Part 5 of *Bibliographica.*]
London, 1875. 8vo.

—— *Egmont.* DUFF (E. G.). Frederick Egmont, an English 15th century stationer (In *The Library*). *London*, 1890. 8vo.
See also PARIS.

—— *Jacobi, Pelgrim, Pepwell.* DUFF (E. G.). The Stationers at the Sign of the Trinity in St. Paul's Churchyard. [In Parts 1 and 2 of *Bibliographica.*]
London, 1874. 8vo.

—— *Day.* NICHOLS (John Gough). Memoir of Day, the Printer. [In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov., 1832.]

—— *Catnach Press.* HINDLEY (C.). History of the Catnach Press. *London*, 1886. 4to.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—CRESWELL (Rev. S. F.). Collections towards the History of Printing in Nottinghamshire, &c.
London, 1863. 8vo.

OXFORD.—SINGER (S. W.). Some account of the Book printed at Oxford, in 1468, under the title of *Exposicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolo Apostolorum.*
London, 1812. 8vo.

—— MADAN (F.). The Oxford Press, a Bibliography of Books

printed at Oxford, '1468'–1640. *Oxford*, 1895. 8vo.

OXFORD. — Reed (T. B.). A History of the Old English Letter Foundries. Chapter vi. The Oxford University Foundry. *London*, 1887. 4to.

ST. ALBANS.—Blades (William). Some Account of the Typography of St. Albans in the Fifteenth century. [Privately printed.] *London*, 1860. 8vo.

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* This section is probably very imperfect. I hope our American members will furnish materials for a much larger list.—A. W. P.

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THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JOURNAL OF THE FOURTH SESSION.

November, 1895, to June, 1896.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

On Monday, November 18th, Mr. Wheatley in the chair, a paper was read by Mr. Joseph Pennell, on "*English Book-Illustrators of 1860.*"

Summary.—"The most perfect English art that the world has yet seen was done in black and white, between the years 1860 and 1870, and these dates some day will be as important in English art as 1830 is in French Romanticism. This work was inspired by Adolph Menzel's illustrations to Kugler's *Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen*, published in Germany in 1840 by Weber, and in England in 1845 by Bohn, as a *Pictorial History of Germany*.

The first book which shows in drawing and engraving the change that was coming over English illustration was William Allingham's *Music Master* (1855, Moxon), illustrated by Rossetti, Hughes, and Millais.

In 1856 were issued Samuel Palmer's illustrations to "The Distant Hills" in Adams' *Sacred Poetry*.

1857 is the year of Moxon's *Tennyson*, which contains wonderful work by Millais and Rossetti and Holman Hunt; also of Willmott's *Sacred Poetry*.

In 1858, Sir John Gilbert's *Shakespeare* began to be issued in parts, but was not published in volumes till 1860.

1859 marks the starting of *Once a Week*, soon to become synonymous with the best illustration; in 1860, *The Cornhill* and *Good Words* were commenced. These three magazines contain the best and most important illustrations ever printed in England, notably those by Millais, Sandys, Houghton, Burne-Jones, Walker, Whistler, Pinwell, Keene, Du Maurier, Small, North, Lawless, etc.

In 1862, Miss Rossetti's *Poems*, with two drawings by her brother, came out. In 1863, Birket Foster's *Pictures of English Landscape* and Defoe's *Plague* by F. Shields.

1864, Millais' *Parables* and Linton's *Lake County*.

1865, *The Arabian Nights*, *Home Thoughts*, and *Home Scenes*, by Houghton; Goldsmith's *Works* by Pinwell.

1866, *A Round of Days*, by Walker, North, and Pinwell; *Don Quixote* by Houghton.

1867, *Wayside Posies*, and Jean Ingelow's *Poems* by North and Pinwell.

This was about the end, though in the early numbers of the *Graphic*, some most remarkable illustrations were printed.

This is a very imperfect record of the illustrated books of the 1860 period, but the illustrations many of them contain are of great value and importance, quite as important as those of the sixteenth century, and some day this fact will be realized; artists now rave about the drawings, and in ten years these books will be rightly considered treasure-houses of English art."

Mr. Clulow, Mr. Redgrave, and Mr. Laurence Housman took part in the discussion, and a very hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Pennell for his paper and the fine illustrations by which it was accompanied.

Before and after the paper, books were exhibited by Dr. Copinger, Mr. Redgrave, Mr. Pennell, and Mr. Neale.

ANNUAL REPORT.

Previous to the December Meeting, the following Report and Balance Sheet were circulated among Members by means of the *News-Sheet.*

"During the third year of its existence the Bibliographical Society has made a further advance both in prosperity and in productiveness. The number of Members has been fully maintained, and the books recently issued represent a slightly larger output than that of the first and second years taken together. As has been already explained in the Secretary's Memorandum, which accompanied each parcel, this is largely due to the liberality of Mr. H. S. Ashbee, which enabled the Society to issue his *Iconography of Don Quixote*, to all its present Members, at a cost considerably less than that incurred by the Author for merely printing the plates. The completion of the important *List of Books and Papers on Printing* (the legacy to the Society of its first Hon. Secretary, Mr. Talbot Reed), the inauguration by Mr. Gordon Duff of the *Hand-Lists of English Printers*, and the very complete series of Devices by which they have been illustrated, the foretaste given in Dr. Copinger's *Incunabula Virgiliana* of the *Supplement to Hain* on which he has been so long engaged, and the excellence and variety of the papers by Messrs. Barwick, Hyett, Strange and Redgrave, have contributed with Mr. Ashbee's monograph to give exceptional importance to the books of this year, and to set a standard of productiveness which the Society will have to work hard to maintain.

"Fortunately the books in view for next year give good ground for confidence. Among the gratifying features of this Session is the proof that our Society is slowly becoming better known on the Continent. This has been shown not only by the adhesion of scholars of such repute as Dr. Lippmann and the Duc de Rivoli, but by the offer to the Society by Dr. Konrad Haebler of a monograph on one of the subjects on which it was most desirable to throw light, the books printed at the early presses in Spain and Portugal. This offer has been gladly accepted. A fragment of Dr. Haebler's monograph was read for him by Mr. Faber at the June

Meeting, and it is hoped that the complete work, adequately illustrated, will be in the hands of Members in the course of next year.

"With a view to carrying on the *Hand-Lists of English Printers* the Council paid the expenses of Mr. H. R. Plomer for four weeks during August, to enable him to extract from the MS. Catalogue at the Bodleian the titles of the English books printed between 1501 and 1556, in which that library is so rich. Every facility was given to Mr. Plomer by Bodley's Librarian, and he brought back a pile of valuable notes. Extracts from these notes, as well as from others which have been collected by the Hon. Secretary, can be placed at the disposal of any Member willing to work at a press, and it is hoped that a second instalment, of the same size as the first, may be printed during the year. Mr. Plomer has also enlarged his paper on Robert Wyer, read at the January Meeting, and this also should appear in 1896.

"The publications of the present Session are thus well provided for, but the supply of papers to be read at the Monthly Meetings of the Society is hardly so satisfactory. Members are reminded that for this purpose, tentative essays, which will provoke discussion and open up new fields for investigation, are quite as useful as finished monographs.

"A subject on which discussion is invited is the advisability of embarking on the gradual purchase of a Bibliographical Library, not of books, but of pamphlets, which could be sent through the post to Members desiring to consult them. For the present it is difficult to see how the Library can be made useful to Members as regards large books, but pamphlets are often exceedingly hard to procure at short notice, and a good collection of them, easily available for use, would be at least a step towards the fulfilment of one of the stated objects of the Society.

"Only a single change in the Rules will be brought before the Annual Meeting. The great interest in our work shown in America (where Mr. North has claimed for himself all the vacancies for candidate-members) suggests that the Society should consolidate itself on the basis of our common mother-tongue. It is proposed to do this by declaring that the Society

consists of 300 British and American Members, thus increasing our American section from 60 to 75 by admitting the 15 American candidate-members to full Membership. On the other hand, the utility of having friendly correspondents in, or near, as many as possible of the great Continental Libraries has been proved on more than one occasion during the present Session, and the Council therefore ask to be empowered, while keeping the English-speaking Membership strictly within the maximum of 300, to unite to the Society any foreign libraries or bibliographers whose adhesion is likely to be of advantage to it."

BALANCE SHEET—DECEMBER 5th, 1894, TO DECEMBER 2nd, 1895, INCLUSIVE.

Dr.	£	s.	d.
By Balance, 1894	263	9	3
2 Life Subscriptions	25	4	0
1 Subscription for 1893 ...	1	1	0
10 Subscriptions for 1894 ...	10	10	0
British Subscriptions, 1895 ...	216	6	0
1 British Subscription, 1896 ...	1	1	0
Foreign Subscriptions, 1895 ...	15	15	0
Entrance Fees and Sale of Publications to New Members	24	15	6
United States Subscriptions, &c.	102	0	0
Entrance Fee paid in error ...	0	10	6
Subscriptions paid in error ...	2	2	0
Interest on Investments ...	4	11	11
	£667	6	2

Cr.	£	s.	d.
Advertising, 1894	0	10	6
November Meeting, 1894, additional	2	2	0
Printing, 1894–1895	365	1	7
Iconography of Don Quixote (320 copies)	50	0	0
Copying and Researches ...	31	8	0
£100 N. S. Wales 4% Stock and Brokerage	102	13	6
Rent	20	0	0
Assistant Secretary	20	0	0
Hon. Secretary's Expenses ...	3	14	0
Hon. Treasurer's Expenses ...	2	13	2
L. & W. Bank Charges ...	0	1	7
Entrance Fee refunded as per Contra	0	10	6
Subscriptions do. do. ...	2	2	0
Balance	66	9	4
	£667	6	2

ALFRED H. HUTH, *Hon. Treas.*

We have compared the above with the Pass-Book and Vouchers and find it correct.

CHAS. T. JACOBI,
J. ARNOLD GREEN, } *Auditors.*

Assets:—	£	s.	d.
£100 2¾% Consols ...	107	0	0
£100 4% N. S. Wales Stock	104	0	0
Stock of Printed Matter, say	100	0	0
Balance of 1895 Accounts	66	9	4

Liabilities:—	£	s.	d.
Accounts not delivered, say	10	0	0
Cheques outstanding ...	2	2	7

DECEMBER MEETING.

On Monday, December 16th, Dr. Copinger in the Chair, the Society held its Third Annual Meeting. The Report of the Council was read, and on the motion of Dr. Copinger, seconded by Mr. Almack, unanimously adopted. An alteration in the second paragraph of Rule 6, of which notice had been given in the December *News-Sheet*, was also adopted, making it read :—

> "The Society shall consist of not more than 300 Members *from the British Empire and the United States of America*, but the Council shall have the power to elect (*i.*) not more than 15 *British or American* Candidate Members, from whom vacancies may be filled up as they occur, and who in the meantime, on payment of the Entrance Fee and Subscription, shall possess all the privileges of Members, except those of voting at the Meetings of the Society, and holding office ; *and* (*ii.*) *any Foreign Libraries or Bibliographers whose membership will be advantageous to the Society*":—

the words in italics representing the extent of the alteration.

An interesting discussion then ensued on the Society's Library. The suggestion, on which discussion was invited in the Report, that it might be well in the first instance to devote attention chiefly to the collection of bibliographical pamphlets was supported by the Hon. Secretary, but did not meet unanimous acceptance. In the end a motion was proposed and seconded, inviting the Council to devise some plan by which the Library could be made available for the use of Members.

The outgoing President, Dr. Copinger, after briefly expressing the pleasure it had been to him to hold his responsible office, and his great satisfaction that the time of his laying it down found the Society in so flourishing a condition, moved in suitable terms the election of Mr. Richard Garnett, C.B., LL.D., who had been from the outset one of the Society's Vice-Presidents, as his successor in the Presidency. The motion was seconded by Mr. Ernest Clarke and carried by acclamation.

Dr. Garnett having been conducted into the Chair, thanked the Society for the honour conferred on him, and gave expression to the

general sense of the great services which Dr. Copinger had rendered, not only as the Society's first President, but in calling it into existence. On the motion of Mr. Jenkinson, seconded by Mr. Naake, a formal vote of thanks to Dr. Copinger was immediately passed.

Mr. Francis Jenkinson was then elected a Vice-President on the motion of Mr. Huth, seconded by Mr. Almack; and Mr. Almack an Auditor, to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Mr. C. T. Jacobi. On the motion of Mr. Neale, seconded by Mr. Heron-Allen, the other officers of the Society were then re-elected, Mr. Ernest Clarke filling the vacant seat on the Council.

JANUARY MEETING.

On Monday, January 17th, Mr. Huth in the Chair, Mr. F. A. Hyett brought forward his Suggestions as to the Limits and Arrangement of a County Bibliography. After an interesting discussion the first part of his Rules was accepted by the Society with various amendments, and the discussion having already lasted to an unusually late hour, it was agreed that the rest of the Suggestions should be referred to a special meeting of the Council, at which Mr. Hyett kindly promised to attend. The Council met for this purpose on February 11th, and again on March 23rd, and the Suggestions were finally passed in the form printed on pp. 167–70. By order of the Council 150 copies of Mr. Hyett's original Paper (printed on pp. 27–40 of this volume), and of his Suggestions as finally approved, were struck off for gratuitous distribution. At the suggestion of Mr. Cecil Davis, a number of these were sent to the Annual Congress of Archæological Associations, with the welcome result that the Congress applied for permission to circulate 250 copies among its constituent societies, at its own expense. The Suggestions were also printed in *The Library*, and copies placed at Mr. MacAlister's disposal for distribution to members of the Library Association. It is hoped that by these means the promotion of County Bibliographies may be materially advanced.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

On Monday, February 17th, the President in the chair, Mr. Ernest Clarke read a paper on *Early Books on Agriculture.*

It is hoped that the Society may not be deprived of the pleasure of printing this paper in full, but, as Mr. Clarke was unable to revise it to his satisfaction by the time this part of *Transactions* had to be sent to the printer, it is here represented by the usual summary.

Summary.—"Mr. Clarke commenced his paper by drawing attention to the inaccuracy and incompleteness of the existing bibliographical lists of agricultural books, and gave various amusing illustrations of errors into which the compilers had fallen, through not having taken the trouble to examine the books themselves. Thus one Henry King, mentioned in a list given by Barnaby Googe in the Preface to his *Foure Bookes of Husbandrie*, had been assumed by several writers to be a distinguished theologian and a Bishop of Chichester, whereas Googe describes him in the text of his book as the "best dyeter of horses that ever I knew," and gives details which show that King was, in fact, merely a superior sort of stud groom.

Mr. Clarke then referred briefly to the chief classical works on Agriculture, the Geoponics, Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius, and others, and showed some early printed editions of these books, together with copies of Crescentius, the earliest Italian writer, Charles Étienne, the first French writer, and Conradus Heresbachius, the first German writer. But the chief part of the paper consisted of an elaborate argument in favour of the first English writer on Agriculture having been John Fitzherbert, from 1483 to 1531 Lord of Norbury in Derbyshire, instead of, as is commonly supposed, his younger brother Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, a lawyer and a Justice of the Common Pleas. Taking in turn each of the contentions of Professor Skeat, the great advocate of Sir Anthony's authorship of the *Boke of Husbandry* and the *Boke of Surveyinge*, Mr. Clarke showed from the internal evidence

of these works and from published documents—some of them not available to Professor Skeat when he made his pronouncement—that all the facts were in favour of the elder brother John. The author himself says in the *Boke of Husbandry*, that he had been a householder "this forty yeres and more," and this phrase appears in the earliest edition of the book (1523), the unique copy of which, long lost, had been discovered, through the inquiries of Mr. Clarke, in Mr. Christie-Miller's famous library at Britwell. Forty years ended in 1523 would commence in 1483, in which very year John Fitzherbert succeeded his father in an estate at Norbury of 2,000 acres, being then a married man. Anthony was much younger, and in 1483 was only 13 years old, an early age to commence housekeeping. There are many indications in the books which point to Norbury as the place at which they were written and where the author's experience in husbandry was gathered. But from Norbury Anthony was in all probability banished by a quarrel with his brother, which was not made up until about 1517. There was no record of Anthony possessing any land until late in life, and during the period covered by the book he was a busy lawyer in London, having been sent early from home to Oxford and Gray's Inn to earn his living. The detailed descriptions and instructions of the book could only have been given by a man accustomed to agricultural operations all his life and all the year round. The author could hardly have been a lawyer. He says of himself that "rethoryke in me doth not abound," and that "I have been beguiled a hundred times and more;" and in the Surveying, which undoubtedly has something of a legal flavour, he says, over and over again, "I remit that to men of lawe." Berthelet, the printer, speaks of the author in the present tense in 1523, and in the past tense in 1534, when John was dead and Anthony was alive. The author refers to various books in the course of his narrative. John was a scholar, and left in his will as heirlooms "all my books of Latin, French and English." The author was a breeder of horses and live stock on a somewhat extensive scale: so was John, as appears by his will. It had been assumed by Professor Skeat that the doubts as to Sir Anthony's authorship of the book

were of modern invention, but this was not the case. Less than a hundred years after the books were first published, Pits or Pitseus, who issued his biographies of English worthies in Paris in 1619, after devoting considerable space to Sir Anthony's *La Graunde Abridgement* and other law books, mentions the book on husbandry, "*quem aliqui fratri ejus Johanni ascribunt*," which some ascribe to his brother John. So that the ascription of the book to Sir Anthony had been doubtful from the first, and whilst there was absolutely no positive evidence that Sir Anthony had written them, there was a wealth of facts (when they came to be collected and examined) in favour of his elder brother, Squire John.

Mr. Clarke concluded his paper by expressing his gratification that the earliest book on husbandry should be proved to be by an agriculturist instead of by a gentleman of the long robe."

In the discussion which followed, the President, Mr. Huth, Mr. Sidney Lee, Mr. Wheatley, and the Rev. Professor Cunningham (a visitor) all agreed that Mr. Clarke had proved his point as to the authorship of the *Boke of Husbandry*, and a very cordial vote of thanks was passed by acclamation.

MARCH AND APRIL MEETINGS.

On Monday, March 16th, the President in the Chair, Mr. J. H. Slater read a paper on *Books on Magic.*

On Monday, April 20th, the President in the Chair, a paper by Mr. Alfred Pollard on *English Books printed abroad*, was read for him by Mr. G. F. Barwick. Both these papers are printed in full in the present volume.

MAY MEETING.

On Monday, May 18th, Mr. Huth in the Chair, the Assistant Secretary read a paper (to which Mr. Jenkinson had kindly acted as literary Editor) by Monsieur A. Claudin, on *The First Paris Printing-Press.*

This will be issued as one of the Society's *Illustrated Monographs*, but in order that the *Transactions* may contain a complete record of all our doings, a summary of it is printed here.

Summary.—"Erected in the precincts of the Sorbonne, the first Paris press was not a public printing establishment, set up as a speculation, but a private press worked by professional printers, specially brought to Paris for the purpose, under the direction of its owner and promoter. Neither the Society of the Sorbonne as a body, nor the King, took any part in this introduction of printing, as is generally believed. Its promoter was the Prior of 1470, Jean Heynlin, its financier Guillaume Fichet, the College Librarian, who had a powerful friend in the Cardinal Jean Rolin, Bishop of Autun. The three professional printers were Michael Freyburger of Colmar, a Master of Arts in the University of Basel: Ulrich Gering of Constanz in Baden, and Martin Crantz. Sufficient space was contrived for their tools and materials in one of the rooms of the old buildings reserved for the Library, the printers themselves lodging in the neighbourhood. The first book they issued was the *Epistles* of Gasparinus Barzizius, models of Latinity, which must have appeared in July or August, 1470, the second, the same author's *Orthographia*, which we may assign to January, 1471, though Philippe has erroneously placed it a year later. It was in the Basel copy of this book that M. Claudin found the specially printed letter to Robert Gaguin (since reprinted by M. Delisle) which contains the important reference to Gutenberg as the inventor of printing. A *Sallust* followed a few weeks later, and then probably a *Florus*. The next book, the *Orations* of Cardinal Bessarion in favour of a European peace and a Crusade against the Turks, was produced rather for private distribution than for sale. It appeared in April, 1471, and handsomely illuminated copies were sent to the King of England, the Duke of Burgundy, the Emperor Frederick, and other potentates. An edition of Fichet's own *Rhetoric* was the next book produced, the printed copies being preceded by one in manuscript presented to Charles, Count of Maine, on 1st July, 1471. Other presentation copies with special dedications, were printed on vellum, and distributed during

the next year, the last being that given to Charles of Bourbon, Archbishop of Lyons, on 31st March, 1471–2. Philippe is thus in error in stating that this edition was placed specially under the Archbishop's protection, while it may be noted that the manuscript copies of the dedication, preserved in two copies, are probably forgeries from the printed one.

From a letter of Fichet we know that an edition of Cicero's *Orator* and a *Valerius Maximus* were printed soon after the *Rhetoric*, but both these have perished utterly. An *Augustinus Dathus** should perhaps be placed before the *Orator*. The remaining publication of 1471 was an edition of the *Elegantiæ Linguæ Latinæ* of Laurentius Valla.

Fichet was now at the King's Court at Tours, on a mission from Cardinal Bessarion, and sent thence a manuscript of the *De Officiis* and some minor works of Cicero, which were printed and issued by the end of March, 1472. This was the last book in which Heynlin's name appears as editor or corrector, an office in which he was succeeded by Erhard Windsberg, under whose supervision appeared a *Tusculanæ Disputationes*, the letters of Plato, as translated by Leonardo Bruni, and the letters of Brutus, Crates and Phalaris, which have wrongly been assigned to an earlier date, owing to the enthusiastic distichs of the new editor being taken as proof that the press was still in its infancy. A *Juvenal* and *Persius* was preceded by a manuscript copy presented to Peter Doriolle, Chancellor of France, who entered office 26th June, 1472, and the printed copies may therefore be assigned to September of that year.

Meanwhile, Cardinal Bessarion had himself come to France to interview the King. But his mission failed completely; Fichet accompanied him on his enforced return to Italy, and after the Cardinal's death in November, was attached to the Papal Court. While he was thus engaged a *Terence*, carelessly edited, appeared at the Sorbonne, and during the next six months the printers issued in rapid succession several books that were

* A *Virgil*, the unique copy of which belongs to Mrs. Rylands of Manchester, is the only other Sorbonne book, which it is difficult to date.

likely to find a ready sale; about the middle of April, 1473, they removed altogether from the Sorbonne, to the sign of the Golden Sun, in the "grant rue S. Jacques," whence on 21st May they issued a *Manipulus Curatorum* in a new fount of type, and so started on a new career."

Mr. Huth, who had kindly brought with him two fine books, one in the type used at the Sorbonne, the other in that with which the workmen subsequently started on their own account, briefly expressed the general sense of the importance of M. Claudin's researches.

Mr. Gilbert Redgrave then proposed a hearty vote of thanks both to M. Claudin for his valuable paper, and to Mr. Jenkinson, who had so ably edited it. He pointed out that in the facts placed before them, the sequence of works from the Sorbonne Press might be regarded as definitely settled, and that the author of the paper deserved great credit for the painstaking way in which he had followed up and unravelled the various clues given by contemporary correspondence, letters of dedication, and the internal evidence afforded by the books themselves. From the book printed at the Sorbonne, which Mr. Huth, the Chairman, had placed upon the table, it would be seen that the Roman character used at this press had many peculiarities. Among these was the unusual form of the "h" and the cursive "&" used as an abbreviation for *et*. Mr. Redgrave also alluded to the extreme importance for the history of printing of the letter of Fichet, with its reference to Gutenberg, of which M. Claudin was the original discoverer. A cordial vote of thanks was then passed.

JUNE MEETING.

On Monday, June 15th, the President in the Chair, Mr. H. R. Plomer read a Paper, printed in this volume, on *Robert Copland*, and a successful Session was brought to a close by the President briefly reviewing the work done during its course and announcing the books in preparation for the annual issue.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE LIMITS AND ARRANGEMENT OF COUNTY BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

Brought forward by F. A. Hyett, January 17th, 1896, and approved, as amended, by the Society.

ARRANGEMENT.

I. WORKS RELATING TO THE COUNTY GENERALLY.

A. Printed Matter Relating Exclusively to the County.

Printed Matter as used in this heading should include not only books, but all such pamphlets, articles in Reviews or Magazines, papers in the Transactions of Societies, broadsides and leaflets as are likely to throw any light on the history of the County. In determining what should be excluded from this class the editor will often have to exercise much discretion. Poetry and fiction, the scene of which is laid in the County, should be included.

B. Printed Matter Containing References to the County.

The same sense should be assigned to Printed Matter in this as in the previous heading. It will, however, rarely happen that any broadside or leaflet will fall within this class. No references to the County should be noticed which are not of a substantive character, such as separate chapters or parts of a book under a separate heading.

C. PERIODICALS.

Periodicals should include not only local Magazines and Newspapers, but reports of local Institutions and Societies.

D. COUNTY ADMINISTRATION.

This class should comprise all printed orders and reports issued by Quarter Sessions, the County Council, or any Government Department, and any literature incidental to the administration of justice, or to the government of the County.

E. ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

The Acts included in this class should be all Public, Local and Personal and Private Acts which relate exclusively, or which contain important reference to the whole or large parts of the County.

F. MAPS.

II. WORKS RELATING TO PARTICULAR PARISHES, TOWNS, OR WELL-DEFINED DISTRICTS.

The Parishes, Towns, etc., should all be arranged in alphabetical order, under each of which all the printed matter relating to it, of every kind and description, should be collected. Thus the works in this class under any particular place, will comprise not only histories and guides and such other works as relate exclusively to it, but works on more general subjects which contain substantive references to it, Acts of Parliament, Local Government orders, papers in periodicals, parish magazines, etc., etc. This class should also include prints and maps.

In the case of the large majority of parishes, no sub-division will be necessary, and whatever literature relates to it should be arranged chronologically. Parochial periodicals may be placed after the dated or (if there be any) undated works, or under the year of their establishment.

In the case of the Districts and larger Towns, some sub-divisions, more or less similar to those adapted with works relating to the whole country, are desirable. No hard and fast rule can be laid down as to the numbers or names of the sub-divisions, which must depend on the peculiarities of the literature relating to the Town or District in question.

If it is decided to include locally printed works, these should have sub-divisions to themselves under the Towns where printing presses have existed. It is recommended that only works locally printed before 1750 should be noticed as such.

III. BIOGRAPHIES.

It is suggested that this class should comprise biographies of persons who are connected with the county by birth, or residence of considerable length, or who have held important offices within it, such as Bishops, Deans, Incumbents, Members of Parliament, Recorders, etc., etc.

The subjects of the biographies are to be arranged in alphabetical order, and the works relating to each are to be arranged chronologically. A wide signification is to be placed on "biography," which should include not only lives, but notices in periodicals, controversies of a personal character, and funeral sermons. If any one whose biographies are noticed has been an author, a list of his writings should be appended.

ARRANGEMENT OF BOOKS IN EACH CLASS.

1. All works which are dated, or to which a date can be assigned (except periodicals), in each sub-division or under each main heading which is not sub-divided, are to be arranged chronologically.

2. Works in any class which were printed in the same year are to be arranged alphabetically, unless their sequence is ascertainable, in which case they are to be arranged chronologically.

3. Undated works should always be approximately dated when possible. When this cannot be done, they should be placed after dated works, arranged in alphabetical order. Works which can only be assigned to a particular period should be placed at the commencement of that period.

4. Besides the main entries in the chronological order, a separate list in alphabetical order should be given of all undated works, and cross references given to the year under which they are arranged.

5. Periodicals should be arranged alphabetically, either in a single class, or, if sufficiently numerous, under sub-headings.

6. In all classes where an alphabetical arrangement has been resorted to, the works within it are to be arranged in accordance with the first letter of the first word of the title, not being an article or preposition.

7. An index of authors of works noticed should be appended. Under each author's name the short titles of the works referred to should be added.

8. An index of subjects should be added to the work.

FORM OF COLLATION, NOTES, &c.

The titles, including the imprint, of all books should, in general, be given verbatim. Quotations on the title page may, however, be omitted. The titles of works which cannot ever have any bibliographical interest (*e.g.*, Acts of Parliament and Local Government Board Orders) may be abbreviated. Omissions should be indicated by three dots.

The size and number of pages of all works noticed (other than periodicals) should be given, and also in the case of important works, the signatures, and any other particulars which may seem desirable.

A list of the plates in each work should be given whenever no such list occurs in the work itself. Where the list given is inaccurate, the inaccuracies should be noticed.

The authorship of anonymous and pseudonymous works should, when ascertainable, be stated.

When not evident from the title of a work an explanatory note should always be added showing its connection with the locality under which it is placed. The names of persons alluded to in the text under initials or pseudonyms, should, when possible, be given. Any facts of interest which can be collected respecting the origin or production of a work should be stated in the notes.

SOME BOOKS ON MAGIC.

By J. H. SLATER,

Read March 16th, 1896.

MOST of the books, old or new, which treat of Magic commence with some definition of the word, this being not merely a convenient course, but one that is absolutely necessary, in view of the many and diverse aspects from which this ancient and complex art is capable of being regarded. Magic, indeed, in its general sense embraces a large number of totally distinct acts, such for instance, as some thirty recognised species of divination, at the head of which stand Astrology and Geomancy, Necromancy or the art of communicating with the dead, Sorcery or Black Magic, which is the art of summoning and binding evil spirits, White Magic which concerns itself only with good spirits, and many variations of one or more of these practices. No definition that has been or could be given, is or would be, sufficiently comprehensive to embrace every branch of such an extensive and complicated philosophy. The Jesuit, Delrio, for example, in the second chapter of his *Disquisitio Magicarum*, is much too sweeping when he describes Magic as the "Ars seu facultas, vi creatâ et non supernaturali, quædam mira et insolita efficiens; quorum ratio sensum et communem hominum captum superat," for any kind of delusion, which was actively induced, would come within the scope of this definition. The truth is that every branch of magical art requires a separate definition, and as this paper has reference to Geotic Magic only, I shall describe this branch of the subject as

the invocation by art of demons or spirits, followed by some agreement, express or implied, between them and the operator, or without any agreement at all, as the case may be.

It may, perhaps, seem strange to hear that called a "philosophy" which, for two hundred years or more, has been looked upon in the light of a gross superstition, but we must remember that Magic in its true and literal sense is a very different thing from the degrading fanaticism of the Middle Ages and the witchcraft which, even to this day, lingers in many remote districts. In its inception Magic was the knowledge of things divine, the philosophy of the secrets of nature, and they who professed it were called *Magi*, from the Persian *Mäg* signifying, in the Pahlavi language, a Priest. Is there a truth? then there must also be some certain way of discovering it, for that the human understanding should have been left to operate at random, was regarded as impossible, and the elucidation of Truth was the life study of every Magus and the sole aim and object of transcendental Magic. "*Dicit ei Pilatus, Quid est Veritas?*" The process by which the hidden mysteries of absolute truth are approached and illumined one by one, is Magic in its true sense, and they who search for this truth, are Magi or Magicians.

It is, however, plain, that this definition belongs to days long past, and that we should not recognise the magic of the Middle Ages, with its sorceries, enchantments, and orgies, as having any connection at all with that supreme and absolute science which Hermes Trismegistus hints at in the *Pimander*,[1] probably one of the books declared by the priests to have been composed during the reign of the gods, who preceded Menes, the first of the Egyptian Kings. That this mediæval art was, however, an apostate offshoot of that true magic which at one time flourished at Thebes and Memphis, cannot be doubted, for the Books of Thoth, as they are called, were known to the Romans, and necromancers had by the time of Severus, succeeded in perverting their teachings and parodying those rites and ceremonies which were insisted upon as indispensable adjuncts to the study of the Hermetic arts.

Dr. Louis Ménard, of Paris, in his work entitled *Hermès Trismégiste . . . précédé d'une étude sur l'origine des livres Hermétiques* (Paris, 1867), points out that the four books of Thoth consisted of forty-two volumes, corresponding with the number of the Vedas, and very like them in subject and treatment. They were deposited in the inmost recesses of the Temples, as at the Memnonium at Thebes, according to Diodorus Siculus, and none but the higher order of priests were permitted to read them. Such was their reputed antiquity that Plato says they were ascribed to Isis and believed to be ten thousand years old. They related to the emanations of the gods, the formation of the world, divine laws, rules for the priesthood, astronomy, astrology, philosophy, and the sciences, including medicine and anatomy, hymns to Osiris and the other gods, and maxims for the guidance of the King. These books subsequently left the exclusive possession of the priesthood, in the sense that copies were made of them and distributed throughout the civilised world. Diocletian destroyed—in 296 A.D.—all he could find, lest the knowledge of alchemy which they imparted should become general among the tributaries of Rome and the possession of gold without stint urge them to rebel. These renowned books of Hermes or of Thoth have been lost, perhaps buried in Egyptian sand, for fifteen hundred years. Certain fragments, however, remain, though whether genuine or not is a question that it is impossible to answer. These fragments were, however, known to Lactantius, who in speaking of them said, "Hermes, I know not how, has discovered well nigh the whole truth."[2]

The books of Thoth, at present only represented by these fragments, are then the oldest books of any kind of which we have knowledge. From what is said of them by writers of antiquity, their origin can certainly be set back to the epoch of the preparation of the Zodiac, that is to say to some period prior to 2,500 B.C., and there can be no question that they were books of magic in its highest and purest sense, though believed by the Romans to artfully conceal, under the guise of innocent words and phrases, anything or everything that covetousness could suggest. It is not necessary

to enlarge on the subject of these books of Thoth further than to say that they are still believed by some to virtually exist in the form of a pack of 78 cards, known as the Tarot. The first person to formulate this idea was Guillaume Postel in his *Absconditorum a Constitutione Mundi Clavis* (Paris, 1555?),[3] and after him came Court de Gebelin with his *Le Monde Primitif Analyse et comparé avec le monde moderne* (9 Vols. 4to, 1773-82), and Alliette with *Le Jeu des Tarots* (*Memphis*, Paris, 1788, 12mo). Other books include Eliphas Levi's *La Clef des Grands Mystères* (Paris, 1861, 8vo), *Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie* (2 Vols., Paris, 1861, 8vo), and *Histoire de la Magie* (1860, 8vo), Pierre Christian's *Histoire de la Magie* (Paris, 1870), and finally S. L. Mac Gregor Mathers' *The Tarot* (small 4to, 1888), and A. P. Morton's *The Tarot of the Bohemians*, 1892. If, after reading these treatises, the Tarot should prove as inscrutable as the Sphinx, it will be because Alliette was right in his supposition that if Hermes had sent these cards at all, it must have been for degenerate men to gamble with.[4]

We know sufficient of the books of Thoth to be aware that they contained no magic of the kind practised in later days by Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and many nations, modern as well as ancient. Homer makes his sorcerers Egyptian, Xenophon describes his as Persian, but none of these were taught by Thoth. Medea was a magician who ascended to the clouds laughing at murder, hurling at Jason the heart-quaking words that Euripides has made immortal, "Not as yet sufficiently dost thou lament, live and grow old" (Μήδεια, 1393). Canidia and her attendant sorceresses, "filthy hags," as Horace calls them, practise their rites with eggs smeared with the blood of a toad and the plumage of a midnight screech owl; their herbs and suffumigations come from Iolcos, a town of Thessaly where necromancy is rife; they bury a boy up to the chin in full view of food changed twice or thrice a day, so that when he has been starved slowly to death, his marrow will be destitute of moisture and therefore more suitable for some of their abominable preparations. Horace

did not invent all this. He is describing the reputed practices of sorcerers and witches of his day, just as Euripides was in that graphic picture of the unearthly fires which consumed the unfortunate rival of Medea (Μήδεια, 1183, et seq). The Bible, too, refers to Jannes and Jambres, Pharoah's magicians, the witch of Endor, Simon Magus and other characters who, whatever the extent of their powers, are plainly and unequivocally credited with much that is to us absolutely incomprehensible. The whole of ancient Greece was a living magic. Homer's description of the Shield of Achilles minutely describes the secret book of antique initiation. Plato wrote most strongly against sorcery and advocated the arrest of those who practised it (Plato *de Legibus*, 6), an unnecessary prohibition had not sorcery been rife in his time. The Roman traditions make Numa Pompilius a magician who conjured Jove himself. According to Pliny, the Marsi were very skilful in all the arts of sorcery, and then there is all the lore of the Sibyls, ten in number, according to Varro (Lib. IX, ad C. Cæsarem).

From these and many other authors it can be gathered that the transcendental magic of the Priests of Isis and Amen-Ra underwent a complete transformation at the hands of those who had not the patience to wait, as Pythagoras had, for many years before they stood any chance of being initiated into the mysteries of Hermes (Porphyrius, *de Vita Pythagoræ*,[5] Iamblichus *de mysteriis Ægyptiorum*), and when Constantine destroyed the Ægyptian Temples, theurgic arts and sophistic juggleries based on half digested principles took the place of a learning, which, however hollow it may appear to this generation, was, at any rate, invested with a respectability of thousands of years duration. The belief in the existence of invisible beings superior to and immensely more powerful than man, inculcated an irresistible desire to communicate with them, and formulæ were invented with this object, and books written to explain the procedure and practice of summoning up spirits from the vasty deep or from the air. Four hundred and fifty years before Christ, Empedocles spoke of evil and good demons (Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*), Porphyry in his life of

Pythagoras, said that the followers of that philosopher habitually communicated with demons and were able to exorcise them, and Apollonius of Tyana, a contemporary of Christ, is stated by his biographer Philostratus,[6] to have practised ceremonial magic, though he denies that he was a sorcerer in the vulgar sense. (D. M. Tredwell's *Sketch of the Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, New York, 1886, gives as clear an insight as any book readily procurable into the legends and traditions woven into the being of this extraordinary man, whose name is to this day invested with a certain terror in the East.)

There were spirits of all kinds and of different ranks, the good perpetually at war with the evil. Man, considered, even in the aggregate, was but an infinitesimal fraction of universal life, the world but a speck of dust in a philosophy that embraced the whole creation. Yet man was strong on his own plane and had it in his power to force and bind angels, spirits and demons of every description, provided he called to his aid an authority sufficiently powerful. Thus, while an insignificant angel might put to flight a demon of the same importance, he would stand no chance against one more powerful than himself. Hence the Kabbalists divided all spirits into three classes and nine categories, and authors have treated of their authority, attributes, and even appearance, at great length. Psellus, whose work *de Dæmonibus*, is printed in Aldus's edition of Iamblichus, Trithemius, the *Pneumatica Kabbalistica* found in the *Kabbala Denudata* of Baron de Rosenroth, Isaac de Loria's *Liber de Revolutionibus Animarum*, the *Sepher Druschim* of Rabbi Moscheh of Cordova, and the *Clavicula* of Solomon, all give minute particulars respecting the position, power and jurisdiction of angels and demons.[7]

The only book of ceremonial magic which has come down to us from remote times, if we except perhaps certain cuneiform texts of the Assyrians translated by Mr. L. W. King, and recently published, is this *Clavicula* or little Key of Solomon, King of Israel, which is the fountain-head and storehouse of Kabbalistic magic. The story is that the book was

written by Solomon and buried with him in an ivory casket, being subsequently recovered by certain Babylonian adepts, at the head of whom stood Johé Grevis. Josephus, though he does not mention this particular book, speaks of magical works attributed to Solomon (Book viii, cap. 2), and though, of course, the original MS. of the *Clavicula*, assuming it existed, must have long since crumbled into dust, manuscript copies of great antiquity exist. The nature of the mistakes that occur in them and yet their similarity one to another, their number, and the great difference in their respective ages, point to the conclusion that one and all must have been copied from older MSS. and not from each other, and that if this *Clavicula* is not the work of the Israelitish king, it must at any rate be of extreme antiquity. Mr. S. L. Macgregor Mathers collated as many of these manuscripts as he could meet with, restoring, where possible, the defective Hebrew text, and finally publishing a translation of the whole under the title of *The Clavicula Salomonis, The Key of Solomon the King* (London, 1889, 4to.). In his preface the author states that except in a curtailed and incomplete copy published in France in the 17th century, the Key of Solomon had never before been printed. The book is full of magical formulæ, and gives minute directions for summoning spirits, with the forms of the circles necessary to ensure the safety of the operator, such circles being made for choice, in desolate and uninhabited regions, dark and obscure places, at night, with a knife with a black handle, made in the day and hour of Saturn and dipped in the blood of a black cat and the juice of hemlock.

Another ancient book of somewhat the same kind, though dealing exclusively with black magic, is known as *The Great Grimoire*, sometimes, though quite erroneously, attributed to Pope Honorius III. Eliphas Lévi fixes its authorship on Cadulus, Bishop of Parma, the anti-Pope set up by Henry IV of Germany, and a man who from his intrigues, simonies, and abominable conduct, may well be supposed capable of any enormity. There is no English translation of the *Grimoire*, and most of the copies,

sometimes, though very rarely met with, are spurious, got up for the most part by inferior French publishers of the last century. All alike, however, whether spurious or genuine, advocate murder and all kinds of crimes. Black magic concerned itself with the evocation of evil spirits for wicked purposes, and it is laid down in this and other books as imperative, that practitioners of this art must be obstinate, and either naturally or affectedly ignorant, the latter for choice; they must have a conscience hardened by crime, and at the same time be subject to sudden fits of the most distressing remorse and terror. If they ever belonged to any religion they must not only abjure it, but profane its ceremonies and insult and degrade its symbols. In the middle ages, and before, the necromancers tore up corpses from their graves and compounded ointments and philtres from their fat and bones, boiling their horrid mixtures over fires made of crucifixes stolen from churches, and human remains. They threw in their chaldrons, toads, snakes, bread used at sacraments, but profaned by being stamped and spat on, and invoked spectres in rotting churchyards or under gibbets. Prior to their evocations they had to observe a fifteen days' fast, taking only one meal without salt (for salt is the symbol of wisdom) after sunset, and every fifth day at night it was necessary to get drunk on wine saturated with black poppy seeds and hemp. Evocations were occasionally followed by pacts in which the magician bargained with the evil spirit for some temporary advantage in exchange for his soul, and the *Grimoire* contains an appendix of forms of these pacts to be drawn up in duplicate on parchment, the spirit disappearing with the original and the reprobate in the circle swallowing the counterpart. All that a diseased imagination can suggest and all the villainies that it is possible for man to perpetrate, are to be found lauded as virtues in this *Great Grimoire*. No wonder that copies are hardly to be met with, for the Inquisition exhausted every effort to discover and destroy them. The three copies in the British Museum, printed respectively at "Rome" in 1760, at "Rome" in 1800, and at "Memphis" (Paris?), 1817, are all mutilated abridgments, published when the fear of Inquisition had passed away. Other books of the same kind

that were seized and destroyed wherever met with, include *Le Dragon Rouge* of Albertus Magnus, and the *Enchiridion* of Pope Leo, two works on black magic, certainly not written by the authors to whom they are attributed.[8]

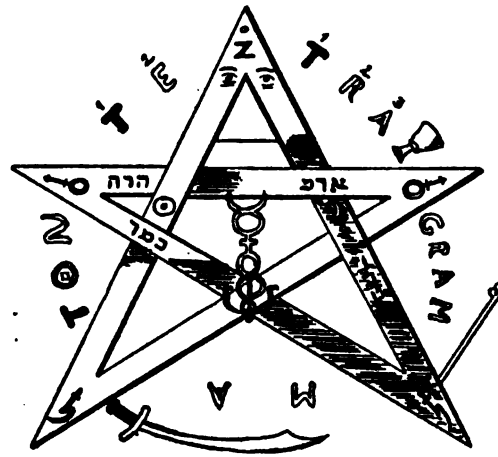
It is not surprising that the knowledge and wisdom of the Egyptian and Persian Magi which had very slowly, secretly, and with infinite pains, made its way in part, at any rate, to other coteries of Philosophi in various parts of the world, became full of suspicion in the face of such proceedings as these. The magic of ages, from that of Hermes and Zoroaster to that of Apollonius of Tyana, was being analysed by incompetent persons armed with a little knowledge, and that imperfect and mutilated. It consequently became absolutely necessary to be still more secret and mysterious, and seeing this, the Christian church began to fulminate anathemas against every kind of philosophy and every practice which was taught or carried on outside its pale. Among the books of "curious arts" destroyed by St. Paul at Ephesus, tradition numbers not only the necromantic works of the ancients and the *Clavicula* of Solomon, but the books of Hermes, which contained little else but religious and philosophical problems, and were only "curious" in the sense of being misunderstood by those who thought to seriously question principles which could only be truly grasped after years of anxious thought and toil. This burning of the books at Ephesus was a mistake in that the example was followed by the Christian church ever afterwards, almost to our own day, and the very importance thus officially given to equivocal practices caused them to be carried on more than ever. The history of the middle ages is as black as the magic it condemned, black with the most unreasoning prejudice against everything that was not fully understood, and full of the most atrocious falsehoods, woven from ignorance and credulity. No one who sought to move from the beaten track of knowledge was safe for a moment, unless extremely high rank protected him from the clutches of the inquisitors. Pope Hildebrand (Gregory VII) was suspected and openly charged—at a safe distance—with calling down

lightning and shaking thunder from his sleeve; Roger Bacon suffered untold persecution; Albertus Magnus, Bishop of Ratisbon, and his pupil, the saintly Thomas Aquinas, were both charged with necromancy; Savonarola was actually burned for sorcery in 1498, and among the names of many other great men suspected of magic are found those of Martin Luther, Paracelsus, and Trithemius of Spanheim, the history of whose lives and persecutions are to be found in Gabriel Naudé's *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages qui ont esté faussement soupçonnez de Magie*, (Paris, 1625, and later.[9])

Trithemius of Spanheim, who was the master of Cornelius Agrippa, is the first to mention the notorious Faust of Wittenberg, whose life and sinister history is, however, more particularly set forth for the first time in the *Historia von D. Johañ Fausten*, published at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in 1587, 8vo., of which only two copies are known to exist.[10] It has been questioned whether any such person as Faust ever lived, but there can be no doubt of this, for he is mentioned by Melancthon in his Letters, and by Philip Camerarius in the *Horæ Subsecivæ*. The history of Faust, perpetuated as it has been by Marlowe, Lessing, Goethe, and many other writers of less repute, is extremely interesting, for we see at a glance what the state of public opinion was in 1587, when this *Historia* was first published.

It seems that Johann Faust, born in 1491, and carried off by Béelzébuth some eighty years later, passed the greater part of his life within the walls of the University of Wittenberg, where he was highly esteemed for his learning, especially in the sciences. Weary with the hollowness of that knowledge which taught him primarily that he knew nothing capable of being separated from the great bulk of what there was yet to learn, nothing that he could really call his own, he determined to summon to his aid invisible powers with whom he had long been theoretically acquainted. With this object he went one dark and still night to a thick wood hard by, called Spizzer-holt, where four cross roads met and there, according to art, proceeded, from within the safe circumference of a magic circle, to summon up

a spirit sufficiently powerful to be able to give him the help of which he stood in need. No irresponsible little devil was good enough for Faust, so he conjured one of the three supreme rulers of the invisible plane contiguous to our own, namely, Béelzébuth. It would be tedious to describe the visions that ensued or the attempts that were made by monstrous abortions to frighten Faust out of his circle, and the impossibility of compelling by his incantations and threats, the appearance of the spirit whose presence he desired. Mephistopheles, a powerful but inferior spirit came at last in a whirlwind of hail and fire and standing in human form at the confines of the circle, demanded to know why he had been called. Faust told him, and suggested an adjournment to his rooms in the College, which after some argument was agreed to, and it was there that the pact was signed by which the former bartered away his soul for a further lease of twenty-four years' life. Goethe, in his description of the scene in the Gothic Chamber of

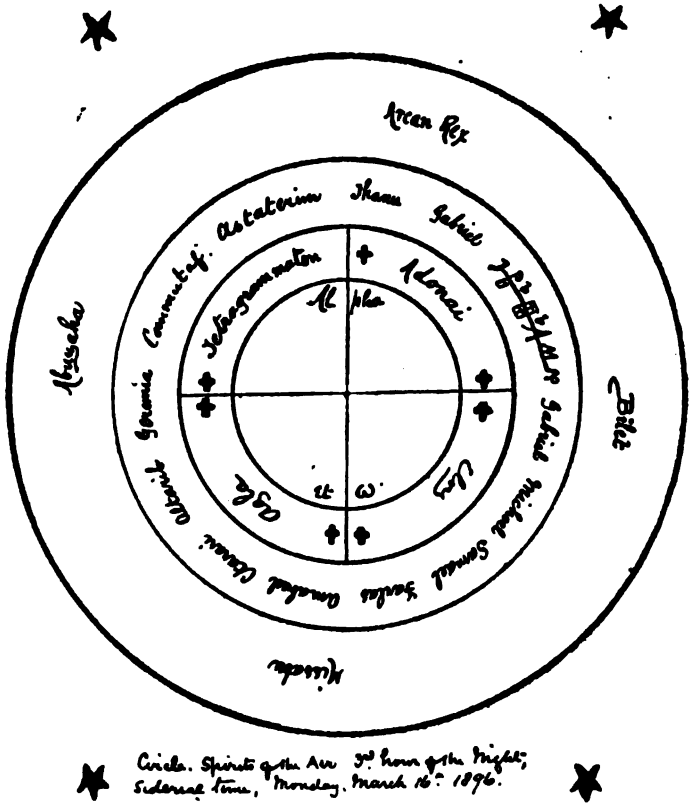


Wittenberg, mentions the sign of the Microcosm, by means of which Faust bound Mephistopheles and prevented him from departing by the door at which he entered. All the books on magic which describe this

geometrical figure, say that when turned with the two horns in the ascendant it represents the powers of evil, but when with one horn, the supreme intelligence. The sign of the Macrocosm is also mentioned by Goethe. This is the double interlaced triangle of Solomon, less powerful than the microcosmic sign, yet very efficacious in binding rebellious spirits when properly used. Both these figures are extremely ancient and full of occult meaning.

With the exception of the *Clavicula* of Solomon and the *Grimoire*, the former the exponent of white magic and the latter of black, by far the most famous book of this kind in existence, and one, moreover, which is readily available and very widely known, is that by Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, published under the title of *De Occulta Philosophia*, at Cologne in 1533, folio. The complete works of this author have often been printed and as good an edition as any is that in 2 vols., 8vo, Lyons, 1600-1605. There is also an English translation by R. Turner of Agrippa's fourth book, small 4to, 1655,[11] now usually regarded as spurious, which treats of ceremonial magic, describes the forms assumed by the astral spirits of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon, and in a measure explains the method of working. This fourth book is not, however, nearly so precise or methodic as the *Heptameron* of Peter of Abano, which is also to be found in the *Opera* of Agrippa.[12] Peter, who was born at Apono, or Abano, a village near Padua, in 1250 was, like Faust, a man of deep and varied learning. About the year 1300 he was arrested on a charge of consorting with evil spirits and in particular with having seven devils, worse than himself, who instructed him in the seven liberal arts. Nothing could have saved Peter of Abano from the stake but death, and in fact he died the very night before his execution, taken away, so it was said, by some of his demons who, contrary to their usual custom, befriended him to the last. The Inquisitors could not find his body so they burned him in effigy instead. The *Heptameron*, together with the works of Agrippa, supplied Francis Barrett with material for *The Magus*, an English book of practical magic, published in 1801, 4to, and since reprinted in facsimile.

This diagram represents a circle drawn, according to the magic art of Peter of Abano, for this present hour, being the third hour of the night of Monday, the 16th of March, 1896, 8.13 p.m. to 9.13 p.m., Siderial Time.[13]


Arcan Rex
Adonai
Alpha
Omega
Jehovah
Jehovah
Jehovah

ministers, Bilet, Missabu, Abuzaha. In the second circle the magical name of the hour, Thanu; the name of the angel of the hour, Gabriel and his Sigil; the names of the angels of the day, Gabriel, Michael and Samael; the name of the season, Farlas, Winter, the Vernal Equinox not commencing for several days; the angels of the season, Amabael, Ctarari; the sign of the season, Altarib; the name of the earth, Gerenia; the name of the sun, Commutaf, and of the moon, Astaterim. This particular circle would be used for summoning the spirits of the Air with their chiefs and no spirit of any other kind would be under its influence. When Faust performed his famous evocation he would use the circle of Solomon as it is found in the *Clavicula* and the *Grimoire*, and this is always one and the same. The names that sound so strange in our ears, Samael, Ctarari, and the rest are the names of spirits, not invented arbitrarily but drawn up by the Kabbalists from numbers, and their Hebrew equivalents. The number of Saturn, for example, is 3, its square is 9, and therefore the magic square of Saturn consists of nine interior squares numbered from 1 to 9 in such a way that whether added laterally, perpendicularly or diagonally the sum always amounts to the same, *i.e.*, 15. These numbers, with the sum of the whole, *i.e.*, 45, are then turned into Hebrew letters and from these the Spirit names and Sigils are formed. The square of the Moon is the most complicated and as to-day—Monday—is under the influence of that planet, the names you see on Peter of Abano's magic circle are formed from that. The principle, as described (with intentional errors) in Agrippa's *Occulta Philosophia*, is, however, the same in every case. That there have been and are people who followed and still follow the rituals contained in such books as these cannot be doubted.

It will be observed that the primary object of the black magician was to render himself susceptively nervous, in the first place, by fastings, and afterwards to intoxicate his imagination by drenching himself with narcotics, the process inducing hallucinations and sometimes temporary madness. The assemblies of witches at nocturnal meetings known as the "Sabbath," for participating in which thousands of people have been executed in

past days, one, indeed, so late as 1780, at Clarus, in Switzerland, were merely the outcome of a study of such books as the *Grimoire*, followed by the use of drugs. The witches' "Sabbath" was always held on Friday and their great meeting place the Blocksburg in Germany, though in the days of Elizabeth, and before, our own country was in as evil repute as any for the multitude of these nocturnal assemblies.

In whatever country a witch was suspected she was anathematized by the church (as witness the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII, 1484) and hounded down by the Inquisitorial agents. Books innumerable have been written on this particular phase of the subject, as for example the famous *Malleus Malificarum*, first published in 1489, by Sprenger and others, Commissioners appointed under this Bull to enquire into the crime of witchcraft.[14] The Papal agents visited every part of Europe where the Bull had effect, arrested suspects wholesale and tortured them till they compromised themselves sufficiently, and then burned them. It seems that witches were often charged with killing children for magical purposes, and one old woman arrested by Sprenger is stated, in the second chapter of the *Malleus Malificarum*, to have said in answer to a question, "We watch for children and sometimes they are found dead. Their parents perhaps think they have been overlaid, or have died naturally, but it is we who have killed them. When they are dead and buried we dig them out of their graves and boil them with lime till the flesh comes away from the bones. We make an ointment out of the firmer flesh, and whoever rubs himself with this and repeats proper words, belongs to our band." Though this and every other statement adduced by Sprenger in support of the existence of witches is ridiculed unmercifully by Reginald Scot in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), by Johannes Wierus, in his *De Praestigiis Dæmonum* (Basle, 1564), and a few other authors,[15] who thought that if any witches existed at all it was by reason of the satanic persecution of the Courts of Injustice, by far the greater number of authorities were distinctly on the side of the law. King James in his *Dæmonologie in form of a Dialogue* (Edinburgh, 4to, 1597, and London, 1603), says in his preface, "The

feareful abounding at this time in this countrie of these detestable slaves of the Divel, the witches or enchaunters, hath moved me (beloved reader), to dispatch in post this following treatise of mine . . . against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, whereof the one called Scot, an Englishman, is not ashamed in publick print to denie that there can be such a thing as witchcraft, and so maintains the old errour of the Sadduces in denying of spirits. The other called Wierus, a German Physition, sets out a public apologie for all these craft-folkes whereby he plainly bewrayes himself to have been one of that profession."

If there be no such thing as witchcraft, neither devils nor spirits, explain, these witchmongers said, if you can, what is meant by the 18th verse of the 22nd Chapter of Exodus, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," by the whole of the Book of Job, and more particularly by the 15th verse of the 4th Chapter, "Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up:" explain away the story of the "Witch of Endor," the references to Simon Magus, and Elymas the sorcerer, and the story of the swine that rushed into the sea of Genneseret.

In truth such passages are not easily answered, but on the other hand, says Scot in effect, why should the devil go out of his way to secure the soul of some wretched old woman which by every rational argument is his already? This is the position taken up by Tartarelli in the *Del Congresso notturno delle lamie* (1750), by Christian Thomasius in the *De Crimine Magiæ* (1701), and other authors. If you believe the Bible you cannot deny that there are supernatural beings such as it describes, but we say that it is not in their power, nor in yours, to form disgraceful and one-sided compacts, nor in yours, at any rate, to ride through the air on broomsticks to the Sabbath, nor to render yourself invisible, nor to change yourself into a black cat or dog whenever you like. That if such things appear to be, it is owing to deception or hallucination, naturally or artificially induced, and that Sprenger, when he says the contrary, doth, as Scot puts it "most impudently lie." These are some of the arguments which were

brought up at last to confound the Romish Inquisitors, to weaken their energy, to ridicule fulminations like that of the Council of Ancyra, directed against women who rode about at night on all kinds of beasts with Diana and Herodias (see *Council of Ancyra*, Semler, Th. 1, p. 138), and to encourage the people to resist persecutions which in the end would decimate them.

Imagination is a most powerful factor in all cases and frequently misleads the most practical among us. Mesmerism, or hypnotism as it is now called, though once scoffed at, is a real and actual force which can under certain conditions cause men to believe anything whatever, and to do anything they may be told to do, good or evil. The hypnotic state can be induced by means of unguents such as the witches are reported to have used as a preliminary to indulging in those midnight orgies which Pierre de Lancre, another Inquisitor, describes in his *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons* (Paris, 1613, 4to., the second edition—the first having appeared in 1612, 4to.). To face page 118 of this book there is a plate representing the Sabbath, and its ridiculous ceremonies. We know too, from other authors, what kinds of ointments the witches were accustomed to use. For instance, Christoval Acosta in his *De opii usu*, 1620, p. 77, says that wine drugged with the seeds of the Datura Stramonium, that is to say, the Thorn Apple, will render the person who drinks it perfectly unconscious, though curiously enough he converses as though in the full possession of his senses. When he wakes he either remembers nothing or is haunted by realistic memories according to his temperament. The species of Aconite knows as Napellus was experimented upon by Van Helmont (Demens: idea, § 2) one of the first physicians of his age. He found that it produced extraordinary sensations and that the powers of thought were invariably transferred from the head to the pit of the stomach. This is so true that a cult of philosophers once existed who maintained that the stomach was the seat of the soul (*see* Hamburg, *Med. Mag.* VII, p. 647), which is true enough in the case of some people. Deadly-nightshade produces most realistic visions and Henbane a feeling of flying in the air through clouds. These two last were

the witches' favourite drugs; a small dose was taken internally to help the effect, but the strength was absorbed by the skin which was rubbed over with an ointment made of one or other of these poisons mixed with soot. Then came the Sabbath, an assembly at which a goat-headed Prince, Samael, presided, distributing poisons, medicines, and evil counsel. Witches crowned with vervain and wild parsley, slaughtered unbaptized children in the light of the moon, enormous toads blew the flute backwards and crabs whistled in rhythm, while witches danced madly with demons and abortions till they dropped from exhaustion. Add to this a wild uproar, feastings, wine which, if spilt, stained like blood, wickedness of every conceivable kind, phantasms in which lay murdered corpses, illusions, screams, curses, rattlings in the throat, and we have a faint description of the Sabbath as detailed and more particularly described by Pierre de Lancre, the *Malleus Malificarum*, Bodinus in his *Démonomanie des Sorciers*, Martin Delrio's *Disquisitionum Magicarum Libri*,[16] Joseph Glanville's *Saducismus Triumphatus*,[17] and many other voracious and entertaining authorities mentioned in the Cyclopædic Dictionary of Franciscus Torreblanca.[18]

Prosecutions for witchcraft and every species of magical practice were abolished in England by 9 Geo. II, c. 5, and since 1736 we have not heard so much of incubi and succubi and those foolish stories that figure so largely in the trials of a couple of centuries and more ago, and were almost universally believed in at the time, even by men of learning and sound common sense like Sir Matthew Hale, and Sir Thomas Browne.

To say, however, that the mysteries of magic, even in their grosser form, are mysteries no longer, and that the whole phantasmagoria which surrounds them has been banished as a mere illusive dream, would be to assume too much. The literature of the subject is not yet obsolete. Books are continually being published. There are devil-worshippers in Paris and elsewhere, and many other memorials of a former condition exist in secret. In the words of De Quincey, "the dread swell and agitation of the storm have not wholly subsided; the legions are drawing off, but not all departed,"

dreams are still tumultuous and like the gates of Paradise to our first parents when looking back from afar, are still,

"With dreadful faces throng'd, and fiery arms."

NOTES.

1. The *Pimander* of Hermes. The Pimander will be found among the collection of Occult treatises printed by Aldus, at Venice, in 1497, folio. This work, though usually quoted as *Iamblichus de Mysteriis Ægyptiorum*, contains twenty other pieces by Proclus, Synesius and various writers. The *Editio Princeps* was printed by Aldus in 1497, as stated, but there are numerous later and more available editions, notably the second Aldine edition of 1516, folio, *Rome* 1556, 4to., *Lyons* 1570 and 1577, both in 16mo.; *Leyden* 1607, 12mo., and others. An English translation by Taylor was printed at the Chiswick Press in 1821, 8vo. There is a translation of the *Pimander*, published by Mr. R. H. Fryer, of Bath, in 1884, taken from Dr. Everard's edition of 1650, and the same work will be found in the second volume of the *Collectanea Hermetica* edited by Dr. W. W. Westcott.

2. See also "The Learned worke of Hermes Trismegistus entitled *Iatromathematica, Englished by John Harvey*," 1583, 8vo. Dr. Ménard's work contains translations into French of most of the fragments of Hermes, and among other books that may be consulted with advantage are *The Virgin of the World*, translated by Kingsford and Maitland, 1885; the *Aureus or Golden Tractate of Hermes, with introductory Essay on Alchemical Science by John Yarker, Bath*, 1886, and J. D. Chambers' *Hermes Trismegistus, London*, 1882.

3. A second edition appeared at *Amsterdam*, 1646, 12mo.

4. Alliette or Etteilla was a hairdresser in Paris. He was the author of another book on the Tarot, *Manière de se récréer avec le jeu de cartes nommées Tarots, Amsterdam*, 1783-85, 12mo.

5. *Porphyrius de vitâ Pythagoræ* was first published in 1601, 8vo., and afterwards at *Rome*, 1630, 8vo., and 1655, 8vo., also *Amsterdam*, 1707, 4to., 1815, 8vo.

6. There are many editions of the *De vita Apollonii Tyanei*, by Philostratus. The first was printed by Aldus in Greek and Latin, 1501-4, folio. Then comes the Latin translation by Rinuccinus (Lyons, 1504?), 8vo., and subsequent editions, *Cologne*, 1532, 8vo., and Paris, 1555, 16mo. The work was translated into English by C. Blount and published at *London*, 1680, folio, and by E. Berwick, *London*, 1809, 8vo.

7. See *Johann Trithemius De septem secundeis, id est intelligentiis, Sive spiritibus orbes post Deum moventibus, Nurnberge* [15]22, 4to., and later editions, *Francofurti*, 1545, 4to., *Coloniæ*, 1567, 8vo.; Baron C. Knorr de Rosenroth, *Kabbala Denudatâ seu doctrina Hebraeorum transcendentalis et metaphysica atque Theologica*, 2 vols., *Sulzbaci, Francofurti*, 1677-84, 4to.; Isaac ben Solomon Loria, *Commentarius in librum Zeniutha, Tractatus de revolutionibus Animarum*, 2 vols., 4to., 1677; Moses ben Jacob Corduero (the Rabbi Moscheh), *Tractatus de Anima*, 1677, 4to. One of the most curious books of this kind is Henry Hallywell's *Melampronvea*, published in 1681. The author describes, with accurate precision, the habitations and appearance of Spirits and Devils, even of those "fouler and grosser fiends that attend a wicked sorceress, daily sucking her blood and nestling in her loathsome rags."

8. See the *Enchiridion Leonis Papæ, Muguntiæ*, 1633, 12mo.; Albertus Magnus, *Le Dragon Rouge; ou l'art de conjurer les esprits infernaux . . . . . et de les soumettre à son volonté, Paris* (1866), 12mo.; *La vera Clavicula del Rè Salomone, Milano*, 1868, 16mo.; *La Clavicola del Re Salomone, Firenze*, 1880, 8vo.

9. Later editions of the *Apologie* were published at *La Haye*, 1653, 8vo.;

Paris, 1669, 12mo.; *La Haye*, 1679, 8vo., and an English translation appeared at London in 1657, 8vo.

10. One of these two copies is in the British Museum Library. A second edition appeared at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in 1588, 8vo. There are several English translations of this book, notably that by P. F. Gent, published at *London*, in 1592, 4to., 1608, 4to., and 1650? 4to., under the title of *The Historie of the Damnable life and deserved death of Doctor John Faustus.* The edition of 1650? was reprinted at London in 1821.

11. Agrippa died in 1535, and no edition printed before that date contains the fourth book. Indeed many later editions, notable that of *Lyons* (Paris? 1567), 8vo., and the translation by "J. F.," London, 1651, 4to., contain only the first three books. A second edition of Turner's translation was published in 1665, 4to.

12. See also Petrus de Abano, *Œuvres Magiques . . . . avec des secrets occultes*, Liège, 1788, 16mo.

13. This paper was read before the Bibliographical Society at 8 o'clock in the evening of Monday, the 16th March, 1896. In magical calculations the first hour of the day commences exactly with the rising of the sun.

14. On the subject of witchcraft see Francis Hutchinson's *An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, 1718, 8vo., a second edition of which appeared in 1720, 8vo. Also R. Boulton's *The Possibility and reality of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft demonstrated, in answer to Dr. Hutchinson's Historical Essay*, 1722, 8vo. Dr. Hutchinson says that the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII was the cause of much witchery, as before that time such practices were comparatively rare. In 1485, the very next year after the Bull was promulgated, Cumanus burnt 41 old women in Burlia and another inquisitor burned 100 persons of all ages and

both sexes in Piedmont. In 1515, five hundred persons were burned at Geneva in three months, and in 1524, over a thousand met the same fate in the Diocese of Como. This went on till 1692, when nineteen persons suffered death at Salem in New England. The *Malleus Malificarum* is a sort of manual written for the instruction of other witch-hunters, by two of the Papal Inquisitors. Many editions are to be met with, notably those of *Cologne*, Anno XX. (1520), 8vo., Frankfort, 1582, 8vo., 1600, 8vo., and Lyons, 4 vols., 1669, 4to.

15. Wierus was the author of another book ridiculing witchcraft, the *Cinq Livres de l'imposture et tromperie des diables*, Paris (1567), 8vo. On the other hand his unorthodox opinions were fiercely assailed by Joan Bodinus in his book *De la Demonomanie des Sorciers*, Paris, 1580, 1582 and 1587, all in 4to., and later. This book went through some ten editions before the close of the 16th century. The first edition of Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* was published at London in 1584, 4to., and second and third editions appeared respectively at the same place in 1651 and 1665. A reprint of the first edition, by Brinsley Nicholson, appeared in 1886 and is itself now scarce.

16. Delrio's *Disquisitio* was remarkably successful, edition after edition being issued from the press. The first appears to have been printed at Louvain in 1599 and a second followed from the same press in 1600, both 4to. There are later editions, *Moguntiæ*, 1603, folio; *Lugundi*, 1608 and 1613, both folio; *Moguntiæ*, 1612, 4to.; *Venetiis*, 1616, 4to.; *Coloniæ Agrip*, 1657, 4to., and many others.

17. Joseph Glanville *Saducismus Triumphatus, or a full and plain evidence concerning witches and apparitions*, first edition, London, 1681, 8vo., second edition, London, 1682, 8vo., and other editions of 1689, 1700 and 1726. A notice of this and other books of a similar kind will be found in the *Retrospective Review*, vol. 5, p. 87.

18. *D. D. Francisci Torreblanca, epitome delictorum sive de Magia, Lugduni,* 1678, 4to. This is the best edition of an encyclopædie work which treats of every species of magical art and gives the authority for every statement made, after the manner of a modern law book.

In thanking Mr. Slater for his paper, Dr. Garnett alluded to the references to the subject in Theocritus, Apuleius, and Petronius Arbiter, to the magic of the Chinese as portrayed in Mr. Giles' *Stories from a Chinese Studio*, and to the remarkable picture of a meeting for the practice of the art in the present day in Mr. Yeats's *Celtic Twilight.*

Mr. George Redway drew attention to the number of varieties, such as ceremonial, talismanic, transcendental, and cabbalistic, into which magic seems to be divided in books on the subject—varieties, which Mr. Slater in his reply, maintained were rather fanciful names than real divisions, the only real distinction being between black magic and white. Mr. Archibald Clarke alluded to the bibliography of the subject by Prof. Ferguson, and the usual vote of thanks was then offered to Mr. Slater.

ENGLISH BOOKS PRINTED ABROAD.

By ALFRED W. POLLARD.

Read April 20, 1896.

IT may fairly be said that only a writer who knew nothing about them would propose, in a half-hour's paper, to talk about the English books printed abroad, in some forty different places, during the last four centuries. But a consideration of the earlier of these books forms a necessary part of the Society's contribution to the Bibliography of English Literature up to 1640, and the subject, as a whole, has for a long time seemed to me an interesting one; since, either in the state of the printing trade at home, or in the circumstances of the author, or the nature of his subject, in every case a special reason has to be found why the book should have been printed out of England. I have, therefore, lightheartedly endeavoured to map out the broader outlines of the subject, in the hope that I may persuade other members of the Society to give their help in filling in the details, and I must ask you to remember that my paper is put forward only as a means of provoking a discussion much more valuable than anything I can contribute myself.

I have said that the subject we have before us this evening is the English books printed abroad during the last four centuries. It would have been more accurate to say during the last four centuries and a quarter,*

* An important extension to the subject, but one which I have not the knowledge to deal with, would treat of the Service-books prepared especially for the English market in Flanders and the north of France during the two centuries preceding the invention of printing. Many of these are described as of English origin, owing to their having English saints in their calendars, but their real provenance is indisputable.

for the latest book I shall have to mention was printed in Florence in 1895, while Caxton began printing English books at Bruges in 1474 or 1475, and even earlier than these we have a Sarum Breviary printed at Cologne, and assigned by Mr. Gordon Duff to the year 1473. These Sarum Service-books, with which so many foreign printers busied themselves during the next eighty-five years, lie on the outskirts of our subject, as the greater number of them are wholly or mainly in Latin, and we are obliged to limit ourselves at present to English books, and may not take in the very considerable number of Latin works written by Englishmen, and intended mainly for the English market, though printed abroad. It is necessary, indeed, to remember that for some generations after the invention of printing, our country, for many classes of books, was wholly dependent on the enterprise of continental printers, and that, to some extent, this is still the case. A single oration of Cicero and the plays of Terence were the only Latin classics printed in England during the fifteenth century. No Greek book appeared here until 1543, and several of the great Greek classics did not find an English printer until the second half of the seventeenth century. Even now for the obscurer classics, and for the bulk of Oriental books, we are content to rely on Germany, and in the fifteenth century this reliance on the continental presses extended to every variety of learned book. It would be absurd to attribute this state of things to any lack of enterprise on the part of Caxton and his fellows. Our President has lately shown how carefully, even in Italy, the first printers felt the pulse of their market, and whereas Venice was a great trade centre for the whole of Europe, in England a publisher who produced a book too learned to find purchasers here would have had little chance of appealing to the book lovers of other countries. The Act of Richard III, which permitted books to be imported into England from abroad and freely sold here, was a wise piece of legislation, and by enabling English printers practically to confine themselves to the popular books for which there was a safe market, saved them from any temptation to risk the fate which Sweynheym and Pannartz had incurred at Rome; at the same time it greatly helped forward the cause

of education. Only three foreign printers, Gerard Leeu and Jan van Doesborgh at Antwerp, and Antoine Vérard at Paris, abused the liberty granted to them by competing needlessly with our native printers in books they were capable of printing equally well themselves. The four popular English books printed by Leeu, who had a special fount of type cut for the purpose, were *The History of Jason*, *The History of Knight Paris and the Fair Vienne*, *The Dialogue of Salomon and Marcolphus* and *The Chronicles of England*. These were all issued in 1492 and 1493, and all with the exception of the *Marcolphus*, were reprints of editions issued by Caxton. Even the *Marcolphus*, according to Mr. Duff, who has edited a facsimile reprint of it for Messrs. Lawrence and Bullen, may possibly have been reprinted from a Caxton now entirely lost, though this, of course, is a mere conjecture.

Of Doesborgh's English books there is no need to speak at length, since all Members of the Society have in their possession Mr. Proctor's exhaustive monograph of this printer's work. As a printer he was very inferior to Leeu, but as a publisher he showed much more enterprise in his choice of books, introducing to English readers the stories of *Euryalus and Lucretia*, *Virgilius the Magician*, *Frederick of Jennen*, *Mary of Nemmegen*, *Tyll Howleglas*, and the *Parson of Kalenborowe*, in addition to the still more notable book *Of the New Lands*. Of the thirty-two books which Mr. Proctor has been able to assign to Doesborgh's press, no less than eighteen were printed for England, comprising grammars, stories, theology, history, geography, a prognostication, a medical book, and two books on the valuation of gold and silver, and thus covering the whole range of the popular literature of the day. The earliest of these books appeared before 1508, the latest some time after 1520, and they thus came out at the rate of rather over one a year. They were all, however, of the class of books which rapidly get themselves thumbed out of existence, and from the extreme rarity of those which survive it is probable that Doesborgh's real output was considerably greater. Antoine Vérard, on the other hand, had a trick of printing a few copies of his books on vellum which has greatly helped

to preserve them, and it is improbable that, besides his Service-books, he printed any other works for the English market than the the two which have come down to us. These are *The traitte of god lyuyng and good deyng*, and *The Kalendayr of Shyppars*, both printed in 1503, and both enriched with numerous illustrations, some beautiful, others grotesquely horrible, mostly taken from his *Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir* of 1492. In his choice of a translator Vérard was unlucky, for he seems to have employed some wild Scotchman, who was no master of his own tongue and still more ignorant of French. When Robert Copland retranslated the Kalendar for Wynkyn de Worde in 1508, he was as scornful of his predecessor's "corrupte Englysshe" as any one bibliographer could be of the labours of another, though in saying that "no man coulde understonde (it) perfectly" he certainly did not err on the side of exaggeration, since most southern readers must have found some difficulty in understanding it at all.

To the names of Leeu, Doesborgh and Vérard as printers of English popular books, I ought perhaps to add those of Wolfgang Hopyl of Paris, and Martin Morin and James Ravynell of Rouen, each of whom printed before 1500, an edition of the *Liber Festivalis* or *Festial*, the book of sermons with which parsons might regale their parishioners on the high-days and holy-days of the Church. The *Festial* was of a semi-liturgical nature, and the three printers were all printers of liturgies. We have, thus, an easy transition to the English Service-books printed abroad to which we must now return for a few minutes. Of these the immense majority were for the use of Sarum, though the British Museum possesses a Hereford Missal printed at Rouen in 1502, and three York Missals printed at the same place in 1516-17. Of Sarum Service-books printed before 1540, the *Old English Catalogue* records no less than 105 as in the possession of the Museum in 1884, and the distribution of these is notable. One Missal was printed at Basle, by Michael Wenssler about 1486; another Missal by Hertzog, at Venice in 1494; eleven service-books at Rouen, the earlier ones by Martin Morin, James Ravynell, P. Violette, and Andrew Myllar; twelve at Antwerp, of which one is a *Directorium* printed by Leeu in 1488, and most

of the rest much later books from the press of Christopher of Endhouen; and lastly no less than fifty-six at Paris, the list of their printers comprising all the best firms of the time. Against these eighty-one foreign editions, of which, it will be observed sixty-seven are French, the editions printed in England number no more than twenty-four, and many of these are printed with cuts borrowed or copied from France. Obviously this class of work required special qualifications in the printers, and it was easier and cheaper to import the Service-books, even the Primers, than to produce them at home. During the last few years of Henry VIII's reign the number of Service-books, which had previously shown some falling off, again increased, and under his daughter Mary there was, of course, a great revival of them. The English printers were now better able to cope with the demand, and of the forty-five Service-books in the Museum printed during these years, twenty-four were printed in London, against ten at Rouen, five at Paris, and six at Antwerp. Of course, the Museum collection, both of these and of the earlier Service-books is by no means complete, but it is probably representative, and there can be no doubt that during the period when liturgies are most interesting bibliographically, four-fifths of those printed for use in England came to us from abroad.

One other small class of books, printed like liturgies for the most part in Latin, but with lapses into English, must be noticed before we proceed further—the Latin Grammars for the instruction of English school-boys. The earliest of these is an edition of the Grammar of Perottus, printed by Egidius van der Heerstraten at Louvain, about 1486, and other grammar-books by Anwykyll and Joannes de Garlandia are said to have been printed during the fifteenth century at Deventer, Antwerp, Cologne and Paris. If any Member of the Society can give me a list of these dreadful little books I shall be very grateful to him, but they have always filled me with so much compassion for the unfortunate children who had to learn them, that I am afraid I have taken no notes of the few I have seen.

In order to give an idea of the way in which the English books printed abroad reflect the changing phases of our national life I propose now

to trace with a little more particularity the history of the classes of the English books printed at Antwerp, where throughout the sixteenth century they are specially plentiful. We begin in the quiet days of Gerard Leeu and Jan van Doesborgh, who, good honest men, could have had no other object in their English publications than the making a little profit out of some popular subjects which our native printers were neglecting. The three grammar-books printed by Thierry Martens for Jacobi and Pelgrim in 1507 and 1508, are not very interesting. Christopher of Endhoven, who calls himself with equal frequency Ruremondensis, followed in 1523 in a higher branch of the trade, competing with the printers of Rouen and Paris who produced the Sarum Service-books in such numbers. From 1523 to 1531, the succession of Missals, Processionals, Manuals, Psalters, Hymnals, Breviaries and Horæ, which were printed by Endhoven at Antwerp, and sold in London, mostly by Francis Byrckman or Peter Kaetz, is broken only by an edition of Lyndewood's *Provinciale*. In 1531 we hear for the first time a different note, three books being printed in that year for William Tyndal, which are ascribed to the press of Martin Lempereur, viz.: *The prophete Jonas, with an introducciõ before, teachinge to vnderstonde him; The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Jhon;* and *The praier and complaynte of the ploweman unto Christe;* the latter an old book which the title assigns to not long after 1300. The next year the widow of Endhoven printed another Sarum *Hymnal*, but in 1534 she was employed by the Reformers, printing George Joy's revision of Tyndal's *New Testament*, while Joy's English *Psalter*, and Tyndal's own *New Testament* were printed by Lempereur. Antwerp editions of the same year of the *Rudimenta Grammatices*, originally drawn up for Wolsey's school at Ipswich, and of a *Prognostication*, show that the Dutch printers did not quite forget the existence of untheological English readers, but for a long time to come theology was paramount in English books printed abroad. Several editions of Tyndal's New Testament were printed at Antwerp in 1535, 1536 and 1538, and though the attribution of the Coverdale Bible of 1535 to the press of Jacob van Meteren (a point which I leave to our Bible experts),

is not undisputed, it seems generally agreed that the composite version known as "Matthew's Bible," brought out by Grafton and Whitchurch in 1537, was really the work of an Antwerp printer, probably Martin Lempereur.

After 1538 there seems to have been a break in the English printing at Antwerp for just a quarter of a century, during which no English work of any importance was issued, the fugitive Reformers finding Switzerland a much safer refuge at this time than the Low Countries. But in 1563 Aegidius Diest printed two books (Vincentius Lirinensis *On the Antiquity of the Catholick Faith*, and the *Buke of Fourscore three Questions proponit to the Protestants in Scotland*), for Ninian Winzet, a Scotch Catholic in exile for his religion. The times we see have changed, and it is now the Catholic Refugees who seek printers abroad, and the Protestants who answer them in comfortable safety at home; and for several years the Catholics kept the Dutch printers pretty busy. From 1564 to 1569, Diest and Laet at Antwerp, Bogard and Fouler at Louvain, printed between them forty English books, by Harding, Rastell, Martiall, Stapleton, Allen, and Saunders, all more or less called forth by Bishop Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, which naturally roused the ire of the Catholics, more particularly of Harding, whom Jewel had ejected from his Prebendship.

The ill-health which preceded Jewel's death in 1571, caused him to weary of controversies, and his opponents at last wearied also, the next few years being very unproductive of English books in the Low Countries. When activity revived, Antwerp no longer maintained its supremacy. The majority of the Catholic books were now printed either at Louvain or Douay, while the new refugees, the extreme Puritans and Brownists, took up their quarters at Middleburg, where their books were mostly printed for them by J. or R. Schilders. Whether Middleburg was also the real place of imprint of the editions of Marlowe's *Epigrammes and Elegies*, the first of which appeared in 1599, is one of the difficulties which I hope will be discussed this evening. Mr. Charles Edmonds preferred to assign it to

the press of W. Jaggard, with whose edition of the *Passionate Pilgrim* it is bound up in the Isham collection. In 1589 and 1590 we hear of another Puritan refugee press at Dort, where several works were printed for Barrow and Greenwood, while in 1597 Henoch Clapham found a local printer for two theological works which he had compiled for the benefit of the "poore English congregation in Amsterdam;" one or two books were also printed for English students at Leyden, and some English medical works at Dort, so that by the end of the century the earlier monopoly of Antwerp was completely destroyed.

We must turn back now to glance at some other places where English books were printed, and first we may note that even in this most theological of centuries a few miscellaneous works demand our attention. Thus in 1551 J. Gryphius of Venice found it worth his while to print a *Compendious Declaration*, by Thomas Raynalde, *of the vertues of a certain lateli invented oile*, called *Oile Imperiale*, and a little later on, when William Turner was tired of "hunting the Romische wolfe," Arnold Birckman printed for him at Cologne, the two parts of his *Herbal* and his treatise on *Baths*. Frellon's English edition (Lyons 1549) of Holbein's *Images of the Old Testament* had no theological import, but is an early example of the printing of the explanatory text of an illustrated book in more languages than one, so as to secure a larger sale. Lastly we must not forget one very important work, Theodor de Bry's *Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, printed by J. Wechel, at Frankfort in 1590. The great bulk, however, of the English books printed abroad during the sixteenth century were theological and the presses of Augsburg, Basle, Cologne, Geneva, Munster, Nuremberg, Strasburg, Wesel, Wittenberg, and Zurich, besides the famous one of "Malborow in the land of Hesse," all testified to the activity of the English Reformers.

The difficulties which beset the history of these English books printed in Germany and Switzerland are well known. We are not often in dealing with them pulled up so sharply as when we find a book of Knox or Bale professedly printed "at Rome before the Castle of S. Angelo," but

there are other imprints in original editions the authenticity of which has been suspected, and the question is immensely complicated by the existence of London editions in which the old imprint has been sedulously preserved. A very large number also of the most interesting books contain no indication whatever of their origin, and the rash attempts to place them, which have been made in catalogues and bibliographies, are often the reverse of helpful. I hope that the Society may eventually help to put the subject on a better footing, but all I can do now is to mention a handful of books, rather with a view of showing the haunts of the reforming authors at various periods than with much bibliographical intention. Thus the edition of Tyndal's *New Testament* was printed for him by Peter Quintel, at Cologne, in 1525. From 1528 to 1530, we find him employing Hans Lufft "at Marlborow in the land of Hesse," to print his *Obedience of a Christian Man*, *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *Genesis*. In 1531, as we have seen, Martin Lempereur was working for him at Antwerp. John Frith's *Pistle to the Cristen Reader* was printed by Lufft, his *Answer* to More, written when he was a prisoner in the Tower, by C. Willems of Munster. Of the next generation of Reformers, John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, appears first as employing Michael Wood to print his *Mystery of Iniquity*, at Geneva, in 1545; in 1546, his tract on the *Examinacyon of Anne Askew* bears the imprint Marburg, and his *Actes of English Votaries* that of Wesel. His best known work, the *Illustrium Majoris Britanniæ Scriptorum Summarium* (1548), was apparently begun at Wesel by Theodoricus Plateanus and finished at Ipswich by John Overton. After the accession of Mary, Bale seems to have had a hand in one or two books which appear with the imprint, Roane or Rouen, which perhaps is no more authentic than that of "Rome, before the Castell of St. Angell," which appears on his account of his *Vocacyon to the bishopric of Ossory*, in 1553. A letter I received last week, from Mr. Jenkinson, suggests that this last may have been printed at Strasburg; Knox's book with the same imprint, *A godly letter sent to the faythefull in London, Newcastell and Barwyke* is attributed in the Museum Catalogue to the press of H. Singleton, in London. Knox's

other books with foreign imprints are mostly Genevan, *An Answer to a great number of blasphemous cavillations* being printed by Jean Crespin, and *the copye of a letter sent to the Lady Marye* by J. Poullain and A. Reboul. His *Faithfull Admonition unto the Professours of God's Truths in England*, professedly hails from "Kalykow," its real origin being doubtful.

We must hasten on now to the supporters of the other side of the religious controversy, who, on the accession of Elizabeth, in their turn had to seek refuge abroad. As we have seen, they at first congregated at Antwerp, but in 1568 William Allen, afterwards Cardinal, founded the English College at Douay, and thereby made it the headquarters of the English Catholic Press during the next century. Important, however, as Douay is, cataloguers have, perhaps, worked its printers a little too hard, and the tendency to ascribe to them every English Catholic book with a foreign appearance is unfortunate. We must remember that for fifteen years from 1578 the English College was transplanted to Rheims, which thus had the honour of producing, in 1582, the first Roman Catholic version of the New Testament, completed twenty-seven years later by the issue of the Old Testament at Douay in 1609-10. The New Testament was printed by J. Fogny, the Old by Laurence Kellam, and it is needless to say that the versions of both books were vigorously attacked by the Protestant experts. The absence of the English College from Douay from 1578-93, of course, diminishes the probability of English books having been printed there during these years, and the foundation of the Seminary at St. Omer, in the year of its return, soon provided a formidable rival. It appears, however, from the town records that printing was only introduced into St. Omer in 1601, when the town made a grant of 100 livres to F. Bellet for his expenses in bringing thither his press. According to Dr. Oliver, the biographer of the English Jesuits, a book entitled *An Apology for the Arch-Priest*, by the indefatigable Father Parsons, was printed at St. Omer in this same year, 1601, so that Bellet must have got to work very quickly, unless the College had a separate press of its own. Fitzherbert's *Defence of the Catholic Cause*, dated 1602, is also assigned to Saint Omer, as are the

majority of the books mentioned by Oliver as having been printed during the next twenty years. The earliest names I find connected with the Saint Omer press are those of C. Bocard, and John Higham, the latter of whom printed simultaneously at Douay, just as, at an earlier period, J. Fouler had done at Douay, Antwerp and Louvain. These two latter places were not unproductive of English books during the 17th century, and others were printed at Brussels, Ghent, Paris and Rouen, so that wholesale attributions to Douay are eminently unsafe. It is noteworthy, indeed, that Duthillceul in his *Bibliographie douaisienne* (second edition, 1842), mentions little more than twenty books as having been printed in English at Douay up to the close of the 17th century. This, of course, is ludicrously below the mark, Duthillceul's failure to discover English books being, no doubt, due to their having found their way to the country for which they were intended. As I have said, however, everything points to the English press at Douay having been considerably less prolific than is generally believed.

We must pass on once more and enter the trackless wilderness of the period after 1640. No doubt the enormous increase in the output of the press makes its history during the last two centuries and a-half dishearteningly difficult, but when I see all our bibliographical stalwarts so sedulously engaged in crossing the "t's" and dotting the "i's" in the work of their predecessors in the early history of printing, I cannot help regretting that at least a few of them will not turn their attention to the later period in which everything still remains to be done. As far as I can judge, the Civil War did not leave many traces in English books printed abroad, but I have come across a few of some little interest. Residence in Roman Catholic countries seems to have caused a good many Cavaliers to reconsider their religious position, and some of them found it necessary to explain themselves in print. Several books of this kind were printed in Paris. Thus in 1644 Sir Kenelm Digby put forth *Two Treatises*, one of which was concerned with the "Immortality of reasonable souls," while in 1652, Peter Targa published for him, *A Discourse concerning Infallibility in Religion*, which was reprinted

the same year at Amsterdam. In 1647 there was published at Paris an English work called *Exomologesis* recording the conversion of Hugh Paulin de Cressy, and this went into a second edition six years later. In 1649 we come across *A Lost Sheep returned Home, or the motives of the conversion of Thomas Vane*, and in 1657, *Presbyteries Triall, or the occasion and motives of conversion to the Catholic Faith of a person of quality in Scotland.* We find also several English works of devotion printed in Paris about this time, and in 1659 we have an anonymous *Answer to the Provinciall Letters published by the Jansenists.* The impatience of the Royalist Colony in France could not wait for the importation of copies of the *Eikon Basilike* from England, and at least one edition was published in Paris in 1649, as to which Mr. Almack's book will doubtless give us information. At the Hague the King's execution produced a very curious work, a translation of the *Electra* of Sophocles by C. W. (Christopher Wace), "presented to her highness the Lady Elizabeth; with an epilogue, shewing the parallel in two points, the Return and the Restauration" This was the first English rendering of any part of Sophocles, but I see that I wrote of it six years ago that it was "beneath contempt," and I daresay, this unkind opinion had some foundation. In 1653 we have at Bruges an echo of the Lilburne controversy, in an answer to his pamphlet, *John Lilburne revived*, written by Captain Wendy, under the title *Vincit qui patitur, or Lieutenant-Colonel John Lylburne decyphered.* Lastly, at the Hague in 1660, Sir William Lower published a *Relation in form of a Journal of the Voiage and Residencie which Charles II hath made in Holland*, and this is the last book of the Civil War period of which I have a note.

During the reign of Charles II, we have the usual sprinkling of devotional and theological books printed abroad, with a few traces at Ghent and Paris of the controversies of Friar Peter Walsh. I have recollections of one or two pamphlets printed by the ministers of English Puritan Congregations in the Low Countries, but the only one of which I have a note is, *The Interest of these United Provinces, being a Defence of the Zealanders' Choice*, in which the Rev. Joseph Hill, Pastor of the Scotch

Church at Middleburg, where the book was printed, advocated in 1673, an alliance between England and Holland. Such a book would have some interest in itself, but the consequences of its publication give it additional importance in the history of book-lore. Hill's work, which was also printed at Amsterdam in Dutch, gave great offence to the States; he was ordered to leave Zeeland, to which he did not return till 1678, and it was during this enforced absence that he introduced into England, after the death of his friend Dr. Lazarus Seaman, the Dutch practice of selling books by auction. But for that unlucky pamphlet, Sotheby's and Puttick's might never have existed.

Two other Dutch printed books of this period are just worth noting, a reprint, in 1680 at the Hague, of *Two Speeches made in the House of Peers*, by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and a *Sermon of Thanksgiving for the delivery of Charles II* from the conspiracy of 1683, printed at Rotterdam. As the Revolution approaches, we get a warning of it in the appearance at the Hague, in 1687 and 1688, of the *Citation of Gilbert Burnet* and of *Dr. Burnet's Vindication of himself*, while after the flight of James, we may note the publication at Cologne of *The Great Bastard, Protector of the Little One*, "done out of French" in 1689, a Paris edition of the King's *Speeches* in 1692, under the title *Royal Tracts*, and in the same year at Amsterdam, a *Letter* written under the name of General Ludlow, defending his comparison of the first four years of Charles I's reign with the tyranny of the four years of James II. Six years later, quite in the modern manner, the old Regicide published his *Memoirs*, finding a printer in Switzerland "at Vevay, in the Canton of Bern," where also a continuation was printed the next year.

This paper is already much longer than I had intended and it is therefore, perhaps, as well that of English printing abroad during the first half of the eighteenth century I have found no trace, except in a few devotional books published at Douay. There *ought* to be some Jacobite tracts, and I need not say that any notes of them will be heartily welcomed.

But there is a last phase of the foreign printing of English books of which I may be allowed to quote a few instances. For various reasons during the last hundred years or so, a good many English men and women of Letters, have lived abroad, and though most of them, like Byron, Beddoes, Landor, and the Brownings, have sent their books to be printed in England, their foreign residence has occasionally left interesting traces in books and booklets with foreign imprints. Thus Sir William Hamilton, while Ambassador at the Court of Naples, had two books printed for him there, one *Campi Phlegræi* (or) *Observations on the Volcanoes of the Two Sicilies* in 1776, the other a series of collections of *Engravings from Ancient Vases* found in Sicily, between 1791 and 1795. Gibbon's long stay in Switzerland doubtless had something to do with the publication at Berne, in 1796–97, of a reprint of his *Miscellaneous Works* which had then only just appeared in London. Shelley's *The Cenci* appeared in 1819, with the imprint Italy, and his *Adonais* was printed "at Pisa with the types of Didot" in 1821. At Parma, several English works obtained what used to be considered the honour of Bodoni's types, and the English ventures of Galignani at Paris, though far surpassed by the later enterprise of Baron Tauchnitz, deserve a chronicler. The employment of foreign presses by wandering Englishmen has not yet died out. At Davos Platz, Stevenson did better—he set up a toy press of his own. A year or two ago, Mr William Sharp gave local colour to his *Sospiri di Roma* by employing a Roman printer, and only last year an important English historical work, *The Life of Sir Robert Dudley* was printed at Florence.

When the Society takes up the history of English books printed abroad, I hope that, if only in a small print appendix, room may be found for a record of these later books, and that we shall not stop at 1600, or at 1700, or at 1800, but recognise that our own age is as worthy of our attention as any of its predecessors.

The President said that the subject of English or other books printed in foreign countries, especially when publication would have been prohibited

at home, was one of very great interest. There had probably been no age in which publication abroad, for religious or political reasons was so systematically carried on as the present. There was, however, this important difference between this and former ages, that while in these printing abroad was usually, at least in appearance, clandestine, it was now, unless in the case of tracts recommending incendiarism or assassination, most commonly exercised without any apprehension of interference from the country where it took place. One remarkable instance of clandestine printing in a foreign country was afforded by the first edition of the English Great Bible, 1539, which was being printed at Paris, when, in deference to the remonstrance of the Pope, the French Government ordered the seizure of the impression. Probably with the connivance of the Government it was removed to England, and there, a change having come over the spirit of the ruling powers, publication took place where it had been originally proscribed. Such political changes might exercise considerable influence on the history and development of printing. If, for example, England had been absolutely supreme at sea when, under Elizabeth, she was supporting the claim of Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, to the throne of Portugal, the Portuguese islands off the coast of Africa, would no doubt have been captured and held for him, documents in support of his claim would probably have been printed on the spot, and the appearance of the first printed book in Africa would have been accelerated by fifty years, or much more if the book stated to have been printed at Funchal in 1637 is apocryphal.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Proctor, who gave some valuable notes on Grammars, printed abroad for the English market, and by Messrs. Faber, Ashbee, Davis, and other Members.

In replying to a vote of thanks for his paper, Mr. Pollard expressed the hope that Members who had notes of English books printed abroad, especially of those which appeared subsequent to 1640, would communicate them to him, with a view to the eventual compilation of a rough Hand-List.

ROBERT COPLAND.

By H. R. PLOMER.

Read June 15th, 1896.

AMONG the small band of printers who were working in London during the first half of the sixteenth century, the figure of Robert Copland awakens our strongest interest. It is a shadow rather than a portrait that we get of him, but whereas his contemporaries are rather of the nature of lay figures, the voice of Robert Copland imparts life to the faint outline that we have of him.

Who he was, or from whence he came, time has not revealed. Some think he was a Frenchman, but there is no evidence on the point and there certainly were several of the same name in England before his time. The first we hear of him is as the translator of the *Kalendar of Shepherdes*, for Wynkyn de Worde, in 1508. This was the third English edition of that extraordinary mixture of Astronomy and Theology, which, under the title of the *Compost*, or *Calendrier du Bergers*, was first published in Paris. Of the previous English editions one had been published in Paris in the Lowland Scotch dialect, by an unknown translator, probably one of the Scotch students at the University. The second was that issued by Pynson in London in 1506, and was a reprint of the Paris edition with an amended text. Whether it was this, or the Paris edition that Copland picked up that winter's evening, when he was glancing over his "bokes and pamfletes, with a view to avoidynge idlenes," is somewhat doubtful. It is very clear,

however, that he had never read it before, and that its curious contents, its bits of folk lore and astrology, leavened all through with religious instruction, intensified by woodcuts illustrating the pains and penalties of the wicked, made a very strong impression upon Copland. He tells us that he "perceived the mater to be right compendyous, and rememberynge how the people desyre to here and se newe things," he shewed the book, probably the next morning, "vnto my worshipful mayster Wynkyn de Worde" "at whose commaundement and Instigation" he made a new translation of the book, with the result that it was printed in 1508. This expression "my worshipfull mayster Wynkyn de Worde," has been universally understood by bibliographers to mean that Copland was servant to De Worde. It is quite possible that they are right and that Copland was at this time studying the art of printing under Caxton's successor. But the words in question are not sufficient proof. The word "master" was a courtesy title, applied by one to another who was older and more experienced than himself. Thus Lydgate was wont to speak of Chaucer as "my master," and we shall see presently that Copland refers to Caxton in the same way, and if, in that case also, it implies servitude, it is impossible to believe that he was servant to both.

That he had business transactions with De Worde cannot be denied, but I am inclined to believe that when we first meet with him Robert Copland was an independent man. The possession of books was at that time a very good evidence of means. Books were exceedingly costly, and a nobleman's library often did not exceed forty or fifty volumes. Yet in his preface to the *Kalendar of Shepherdes*, Copland speaks of having in his chamber many "pamfletes and bokes," so that he was evidently in a position to buy books. Again the word "commaundment" is qualified by the other word "instigation," and may mean nothing more than that Wynkyn de Worde proposed that Copland should undertake the translation.

In 1510 Wynkyn de Worde printed the *History of Kinge Apollyon of Thyre*, to which was appended an introduction written in prose by Robert

Copland. He sets out in this the value of Chronicles in making known the valorous deeds and adventures of noble persons in past ages, and thereby setting high examples of virtue and abhorrence of idleness.

It was in this *History of Kinge Apollyon* which "my worshipful master, Wynken de Worde," handed to Copland for translation, that he refers, to "my master Caxton," whose example he was following in the translation of small stories and pamphlets and so forth. He further begs the readers indulgence on the score of his "ignoraunt youth," and if this last phrase has anything more substantial about it than an author's modesty, it seems to negative the idea that Copland was servant to Caxton. He would hardly have been apprenticed before he was fifteen, and supposing him to have been that age in the year of Caxton's death, it would make him at least thirty-five in the year of the publication of this romance.

It would be interesting to know which of the French editions it was that Copland used in his translation. Brunet mentions only two, both without date, one printed at Geneva by Garbin, and the other in Paris by Jehan Bonfons, but this last was much later than the London edition. Copies of this interesting book are exceedingly scarce, but the student has to his hand a very careful reprint of the copy in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, made by Mr. Ashbee.

Two years later (1512) Copland is again met with as a translator for Wynkyn de Worde. This time it is the prose romance called *The Knyght of the Swanne*, "newly translated out of Frensshe in to Englysshe, at thinstygacion of the Puyssaunt and Illustryous Prynce Lorde Edwarde Duke of Buckyngham." In his prologue, Copland tells how the Duke, having a goodly book of the history of a King named Oryant and Helyas the Knight of the Swan from whom the Duke was descended, desired Wynkyn de Worde to put it into print. In order to do so, the printer sought and found a true approved copy "enprinted and corrected in the

French language" (so that evidently this was not the Duke's copy), and Copland made the translation. He claims to have done so to the best of his ability, and prays his readers to pay no regard to his "misorned" and rude language, for he has followed his author as nigh as he could without "hygh style." This work was afterwards reprinted by William Copland, and in addition to its interest as a romance is remarkable for the illustrations with which it abounds. It is a specimen of the wretched work of the English wood-engravers of this period. Very probably some of the cuts were copies of those in the French edition, but many clearly came from other sources, and had no reference whatever to the text, while the execution of one and all is barbarous.

Copland then, down to the year 1512, was translating books from French for Wynkyn de Worde, but it does not follow that he was in any sense a servant to the printer. I have already said that I believe he was working, altogether independently, as a book-seller, much earlier than is generally supposed, and I believe I have found a very strong piece of evidence in support of my theory. In 1514 De Worde printed a religious treatise called *The Dying Creature.* Now if there was one thing De Worde was proud of it was his device. He hardly ever let a book go out without it, and he displayed it in all sorts of varieties. Moreover it is a very rare thing to find a book of De Worde's printing with the device of any other printer. It is true that in his later years he printed one or two books for John Byddell, which have that printer's device on them, but in each of these De Worde clearly stated that they were printed for Byddell. But the British Museum copy of *The Dying Creature* of 1514 has De Worde's colophon and on the verso of the leaf Robert Copland's device of the Rose Garland. Clearly then, he was established as an independent book-seller in that year. But the presence of this device in this book suggests more than this. The copy in the University Library, Cambridge, of the same date has De Worde's device, so that it would appear that the publication was a joint undertaking, the

profits of which were to be shared between them, and of which each was to have a certain number of copies.

If I am right in my conjecture, it seems to me to prove that Copland was at that time not only in business for himself, but in a good way of business too, because it is only a natural inference that if he was to share the profits, he was also to share the risks, and in order to do that he must have been something better than an apprentice or servant to De Worde. It is true that it only antedates his work by a year, but who will be bold enough to say that he was not established some years earlier?

The next year Copland printed in quarto Fitzherbert's legal book, entitled the *Justices of the Pease*, of which there is also a copy in the University Library, Cambridge. This is the first book with a date known to have been printed by him, but there is also in the same Library an undated edition of another legal book, the *Modus tenendi curiā bar.*, or "manner of holding a court baron," evidently printed at the same time.

In 1518, Henry Pepwell, printer at the sign of the Trinity in St. Paul's Churchyard, printed an edition of a poem written by William Nevile, the son of Lord Latimer, entitled the *Castle of pleasure*. It conveyed sound teaching of virtue in the form of an allegory. Under the guise of a dream, it told how Desire went to the *Castle of Pleasure*, where in the garden of Affection he met with Beauty, upon which there arose great strife between Pity and Disdain. This book commences with a poem of seven stanzas, headed "Copland the prynter to the authour," which I think clearly proves, that it had been originally printed by Robert Copland. He begins by commending the author for writing books:

> Ensample giving to all such as pretend
> In tharte of love their mindes to condescend
> In termes fresshe, their courage to endewe
> Not with rude toyes, but elegant and newest.

But at the same time he expresses a fear that it will have few readers, whereas, if it had been a work teaching a man how to make money, or get

the better of his neighbour, it would have been heartily received. To these remonstrances the author replies in these words :—

> Emprynt this boke Coplande at my request,
> And put it forth to every maner state,
> It does no good lying still in my chest,
> To pass the time some will bye it algate
> Cause it is newe, compyled now of late—
> At least way yong folk, will gladly seke recure,
> Beauty to get in the toure of pleasure.

To which appeal Copland replies :—

> At your instaunce, I shall it gladly impresse,
> But the utterance I thynke wyll be but smale,
> Bokes be not set by, theyr times is past I gesse,
> The dyce and cards, in drynkynge wine and ale,
> Tables, cayles, and balles, They be now set a sale ;
> Men lete theyr chyldren use all such harlotrye,
> That byenge of bokes, they utterlye deny.

At the end of the book is " L'Envoy, de Robert Copland lymprimeur," also in verse, in which he claims indulgence for errors in the press.

There is no mention of Wynkyn de Worde in this prologue and no hint that he was in any way associated with the publication of the book. He certainly reprinted it without date in the same way that Pepwell did. There was nothing in those days to prevent one printer from issuing the work of another, and the late Mr. Blades in his *Life of Caxton* has given several instances of the gross blunders that Wynkyn de Worde made through following this practice. There is another instance of it in William Middleton's reprint of Froissart, in the second volume of which he reprinted Pynson's colophon to the 1525 edition, word for word and figure for figure, to the sore perplexity of eminent bibliographers, who cheerfully state that Middleton began to print in 1525 and was associated with Pynson. So that because we only find copies of Copland's books that have come through De Worde's press, we must not jump to the conclusion that they were not previously printed by him.

On the other hand there is no doubt that from time to time Copland furnished De Worde with literary matter. Thus in 1521 that printer issued an edition of Andrew Chertsey's *Passion of Christ*, to which Copland furnished a metrical prologue. In this he enumerates the other works that the author had translated and winds up with this stanza:—

> And nowe this boke of Christ's Passyon,
> The which before in Language was to rude,
> Seyng the matter to be of grete Compassyon,
> Hath besyed him that Vyce for to exclude,
> In Englysshe clere, with grete Solycitude,
> Out of Frensshe at Wynkyn de Worde's Instaunce,
> Dayly descrying of Virtues the Fortheraunce.

Here again we see that Copland acknowledges that the work is done for De Worde. Another devotional work printed in 1521, was *The Mirrour of the Churche*. Both Herbert and Dibdin give this a place amongst the productions of Robert Copland's press, though it is only known to us by the editions printed by De Worde in 1521 and 1527. Dibdin, however, while shewing that several eminent authorities were of opinion that Copland was the first to print the book, admits, what is indeed possible, but not at all likely, "that he may have reprinted it from De Worde's edition."

The book begins with the "Petycyon of Robert Copland the prynter" in his usual form of seven line stanzas. This "Petition" takes the form of a prayer to the Godhead and the Trinity, and there is no hint in it of the work having been done either "for" or "at the instance of De Worde." So that I think De Worde's edition was most probably a reprint of Copland's. The book was profusely illustrated and those who are interested in early wood-cuts may be recommended to glance through it. There are one or two remarkable ones, notably one that seems to have come from some foreign Ars Moriendi or Speculum. There is also a set of small blocks illustrating the life of Christ, full of detail and very carefully cut. These had, no doubt, done duty in a foreign house.

That Copland's press was busy in this year, 1521, is shewn from the folio edition of Alexander Barclay's *Introductory to write French* of that

date, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian. At the end was added "the maner of dauncynge of Case daũces after the use of France and other places translated out of Frenche in englyshe by Robert Coplande." Herbert gave no description of this book. Dibdin evidently never saw it. My information is due to Mr. Madan, who very kindly sent me a brief note about it. The text of this book, which was in the nature of a vocabulary, has been reprinted by the Philological Society.

An interval of six years now elapses before we again meet with Copland. We may be sure that he was not idle all that time, but when we consider that out of the whole of his life's work, extending over not far short of fifty years, only some eighteen books have ever been traced, a gap of six years is a small matter. To the interval, perhaps, may be assigned a book which we only know through a reprint by William Copland. Its title is *The Seven Sorowes that women have when theyr husbandes be deade*, compyled by Robert Copland. It is written in verse, and recounts the behaviour of a widow, and her doubts as to whether or not she should take a second husband. Judged by the standard of to-day, there is absolutely no humour about it at all, but the prologue is distinctly interesting. It is written, like the tract, in verse, and took the form of an imaginary conversation between Copland and another person, called *Quidam*. In this prologue we see Copland in his threefold character of bookseller, author and printer. He begins :—

Why should I muse, such tryfles for to wryte,
Or wanton Toyes, but for the appetyte
Of wandryng braynes, that seke for thynges a-new
And do not reche if they be fals or trew.
With what news—or here ye any tidings
Of the Pope, of the Emperour, or of kynges,
Of Martyn Luther, or of the Great Turke,
Of this and that and how the world doth worke?
So that the tongue must ever wagge and clatter
And waste their wyndes, to medle of eche matter
Thus ben we prynters called on so fast,
That maruayle it is, how that our wittes can last.

With have ye the takyng of the French kyng,
Or what conceytes have ye of laughyng?
Have ye the ballad called *maugh murre*,
Or *bony wencha*, or els, *go from my durre*,
Col to me, or *hey down derry derry*,
Or *a my hert*, or *I pray you be merry?*
Thus, if our heades forged were of brasse,
Yet should we wexe as dull as any asse,
And al of baggage, nought worthe in substaunce,
But bokes of vertue have none utteraunce,
As thus, Syr, I have a very proper boke
Of morall wisedome, please ye their on to loke,
Or els a boke of comen consolation.

To which the other replies :—

Tushe a strawe man, what should I do therewith?
Hast thou a boke of the wydowe Edyth,
That hath begyled so many with her wordes,
Or els such a geest that is ful of bourdes.
Let me se, I wyll yet waste a peny
Upon such thinges, and if thou have any.

Copland, however, demands fourpence for them, and is answered :—

A peny I trow is ynough on bokes.
It is not so soon goten, as this world lokes.
By Saynt Mary I cannot tell the brother.
Money euer goeth for one thyng or for other,
God helpe my friende, this worlde is hard and kene,
They that have it will not let it be sene.

He then turns the conversation by asking Copland if he has seen a "prety geest in ryme," called *The Seven Sorrowes.* Copland replies in the negative and though assured that it would sell well, is loth to put forth anything against women. He asks to see a copy and is answered, that if he will take his pen in hand he can write it out in a few minutes. Then follows this advice :—

But yet of one thynge, hertely I you praye.
Amende the englysh somwhat, if ye can,
And spel it true, for I shall tel the man,
By my soule, ye prynters make such englyshe,
So yll spelled, so yll poynted, and so peuyshe,
That scantly one can rede lynes tow.

And he expresses the opinion that the wardens (the wardens of the Stationers' Company?) are much to blame in allowing rude craftsmen to print books. Copland replies that he cares not so that he now and then earns a penny; but those who look for them will find plenty of good workmen, and so saying he proceeds to write *The Seven Sorrows.* He concludes them with "L'envoy of R. Copland" in two stanzas, the first of which I venture to reproduce here as it is quite incomprehensible to me.

> Go lytle quayre, god gyve the wel to sayle
> To that good shepp, ycleped Bertelet.
> For through it thou mayst the more prevayle
> Agaynst the rockes, that blyndly ben yset
> Upon the land thy substaunce for to fret.
> And from all nacyons, if that it be thy lot,
> Lest thou be hurt, medle not with a Scot.

Does the Bertelet, here mentioned, mean the printer of that name? It may be so, because you will notice that in neither the prologue or L'envoy does Copland term himself "the prynter." But what is the meaning of the reference to "a Scot?"

I am quite sure that you will forgive me for quoting so largely from this Prologue, although it has already appeared in the first volume of *Bibliographica.* As a specimen of Copland's verse it is one of the best I know, being marked by ease and unconventionality. The references to contemporary events, such as the taking of the French King which occured at Pavia in 1525, as well as the mention of the *Text of the Widow Edith* which was published by John Rastell also in 1525, pretty well fix the date of the compilation of this poem. The other ballads therein mentioned and the work on Common Consolation seem to be lost, but possibly they were printed, as well as sold, by Robert Copland.

Copland's constant complaint was that men would not buy works of merit, and though he was bound to cater for the tastes of the public, he nevertheless, did what in him lay to place in their hands works of wisdom and

utility. Not least among these was the *Rutter of the Sea*, which he translated and printed in 1528. It was certainly the earliest work on the science of navigation that had been published in the English language. Copland prefaced it with a lengthy prologue, in which he tells us that the original was bought by an English sailor in the town of Bordeaux, and handed to him for translation. It seemed to him a very difficulty task, as he was quite ignorant of seafaring matters, never having been on the sea in his life, nor on any coast, a statement which apparently disposes of the suggestion that he came from France. With the help of those better informed in the science, he carried out the work, "as a blind horse in a mill turning the quern ignorantly, save by conducting of the milner that setteth him on woork." The *Rutter* gave directions for entering the chief harbours on the coasts of England, France, Normandy, Flanders and elsewhere, with rules for the tides and for taking soundings. There was added to it the sea laws called the "Laws of the Isle of Oleron." This book Copland appears to have shewn to Richard Bankes, a brother printer, who undertook to defray the expenses of publication. There is not much doubt that the venture was a success, as scarcely a single copy of Copland's edition is now known, and the work was frequently reprinted. Herbert also records under date 1528, an octavo book entitled *The Secret of Secrets of Aristotyle*, and an edition of the *Pomander of Prayer*, in quarto, as both printed by Copland.

In 1530 Wynkyn de Worde printed one of Chaucer's minor poems, *The Assembly of Foules*, with a characteristic prologue by Robert Copland, in his usual seven line stanza, reprinted in full by Dibdin. This prologue is headed "Robert Copland, boke prynter to new Fanglers." It contains mention of Chaucer and Lydgate, and refers to the death of Hawes, which is believed to have occurred in 1523. Twice Copland speaks of himself as the printer of the book. In the second stanza, he says:

> "But yet for your mindes, this boke I will impresse"

and again in the third:

> For lack of wrytynges conteynynge moral sperkes
> I must imprint the Parlament of foules.

He does not mention Wynkyn de Worde in any way, and seeing that Pynson had printed the poem in his edition of Chaucer in 1526, it is quite possible that it may have been issued by Robert Copland some years before De Worde printed it. To this period also belongs no doubt, the first edition of the little tract found in primers of 1531 and 1538, entitled the *Maner to live well*, which Copland translated from the French of Master John Quentin of Paris. He printed it again in 1540.

In 1532, Robert Copland printed for Richard Bankes an account, translated from the French, of the overthrow of the Turks on the 26th September of that year. In 1534, he issued another devotional work called the *XII Fruytes of the Holy Ghost*, of which there is a copy in the Huth Library.

Wynkyn de Worde at the time of his death, had three poetical tracts on marriage in the press; *A Complaynt of them that be to soone Maryed*, dated 1535; *A Complaynt of them that ben to late Maryed*, without date, and the *Payne and Sorowe of Euyll Mariage*, also without date. These were all of them translations from the French, and the second at least can be traced to the pen of J. Gringoir. J. P. Collier in his *Bibliographical Account*, stated that the translator of these pieces was Robert Copland, his name being cunningly concealed in the form of an acrostic in one of the last stanzas of the *Complaynte of them that be to soone Maryed.* The extracts given by Dibdin and Collier from the poem, unfortunately, do not include the stanza in question. There is, however, no good reason for questioning Collier's theory. Satire of women was a feature of that age, and Copland, who seems to have been always on the look out for new matter likely to be popular, and who seems moreover to have received all the latest books from France, very probably put these tracts on the market at the earliest moment. Collier again states that Copland mentions the *Complaynt* as his "first werke." If he is right, then the inference is that these copies of De Worde's were reprints. There is a small spark of humour in these pieces, and the versification, allowing for the difficulties

of translation, may well be Copland's, though the lines do not run as smoothly as most of his.

There is now another gap of seven years. In the interval Wynkyn de Worde had died, leaving Robert Copland a small legacy, not as some suppose, because the one was servant to the other, but as a reward for any trouble that Copland might have, in acting as one of the overseers of his will. It is in 1542 that we next meet with him and find him using his pen to further useful work. In this instance it is a book on *Surgery*, a French copy of which a young man had brought to the shop of a brother stationer in St. Paul's Churchyard, Henry Dabb, with the desire that it should be translated into English. This Henry Dabb, called in this book "bybliopolyst and stacyoner," was no doubt the same as the Henry Tab, who published editions of *Skelton*, and of the *Boke of Hawking*. Dabb or Tab, at once handed the book to Copland, who translated it under the title of the *Questyonary of Cyrurgyens, with the formulary of lytell Guyde in Cyrurgie, with the spectacles of Cyrurgyens newly added, with the fourth Boke of the Terapeutik, or Methode curatyfe of Claude Galyen, prynce of Physicians, with a syngular treaty of the cure of ulcers.* Copland wrote a short prose introduction very much on the lines of that to the *Rutter of the Sea*, setting forth the value of scientific publications and explaining how difficult he found it to translate the Greek and Latin names and terms that were in the book. The fourth boke of the *Terapeutyke* is stated by Copland to have been translated by him on the fourth of February, 1542, and yet the whole book is said to have been finished on the twelfth November, 1541. There is evidently something wrong here, and for November, 1541, we should read 1542. The work was one of considerable size, dealing with all branches of surgery, and embodying all that was then worth knowing of medical science. It was printed by my old friend Robert Wyer of Charing Cross, for Henry Dabb and Richard Bankes.

In 1547, Copland printed for Andrew Borde the physician, his book entitled the *Pryncyples of Astronomy*, in which the latter volunteers the

information that his *Introduction to knowledge* is then printing "at old Robert Copland's, the eldest printer in England," a vague statement, but which probably means that his was the oldest printing house then in existence. This is the last mention we have of him.

But in addition to the work that I have already noticed, Copland printed many books without date, of some of which he was the author, of others merely the translator. There are also traces of his work in the presses of other printers of the period. The most important of these undated books, and the works by which he is chiefly judged as an author, were the *Hye Way to the Spitel Hous*, and *Iyll of Brentford's Testament*. Both these books have been so often reprinted and criticised that there is no need for me to trouble you with a detailed description of them. As a picture of the seamy side of London life, there is very little in our literature to compare with Copland's chat with the porter of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and putting it side by side with the prologue to the *Seven Sorows*, we see in it the same easy conversational vein. The story of *Iyll of Brentford's Testament* again, is led up to in an equally unconventional manner. In fact, whatever we may think about his merits as a humourist, we must admit that his verse runs smoothly enough in those pieces of which he was the author; much more smoothly than in those of which he was the translator.

Among Copland's other undated publications is a piece entitled *A New Guyse now a dayes*, noted by W. C. Hazlitt in his *Collections and Notes*, (First Series). Now in John Dorne's *Day Book* (1520), item No. 1267 is the brief entry "Newe Gyse." Mr. Madan, the editor, suggested that the second word in this entry stood for Gest, but I think in this note of Mr. Hazlitt's we have a better clue to the entry, and if I am right in my surmise it must be placed amongst Copland's earliest productions. I think it is also a fair surmise, that many of the famous poetical romances which passed through the press of William Copland at a latter date, such as "Syr Tryamour," "Sir Isenbras," "Syr Degore," "Syr Eglamoure," "Will Bucke's Testament,"

and others of the same kind had previously been printed by his predecessor at the Rose Garland.

I am sorry to have to add, that as a printer, Robert Copland can claim very little praise. He is credited with having introduced better punctuation into his books than is found in his contemporaries; having said this I have said all that can be alleged in his favour, but the specimens of his works are so few, that they represent only a fraction of his life's work, and perhaps it would be well not to judge him too hastily in this respect. If he is to be condemned as a printer let it be out of his own mouth in that passage in the prologue to the *Seven Sorowes*, in which he said that he did not care about the workmanship so long as he could earn a penny. His carelessness in this respect is rather surprising, because he was evidently a book-lover, a collector, and one who tried his best to induce people to read high class literature rather than trifles. In his fourfold capacity as author, translator, bookseller and printer, he must have led a busy life, and his knowledge of books must have been extensive. To dub such a man a mere literary hack, to speak of him as an odd man about the office of Wynkyn de Worde, and as owing his position to the assistance of that printer, is to refuse him his rightful place both in the ranks of literature and those of the early English printers.

In the discussion which followed Mr. Plomer's paper, Mr. Gordon Duff, who was present as a visitor, pointed out that there was no reason to doubt that the references to "Bertelet" and "a Scot" in Copland's Prologue to the *Seven Sorowes* were to the printers, Thomas Berthelet and John Scot.

THE RECOVERY OF LOST ENGLISH BOOKS.

A SUGGESTION.

By EDWARD ARBER.

I.

AMONG the many activities of the reign of Queen Victoria, may be reckoned a kind of Revival of Learning as regards our national Language and Literature. While Doctor F. J. Furnivall and his noble band of fellow Editors have put into print, for the first time, tens of thousands of pages of our earlier manuscript texts, Doctor Murray and Mr. Bradley have, in the great Oxford *Dictionary*, been occupied in marshalling and examining all our words. No previous Age in England's history can show anything like these two splendid and long sustained efforts.

Side by side with these, there has been carried on a ceaseless hunt after our lost, or rarest, printed English Books; a hunt so keen indeed, that fox-hunting were mere child's play in comparison with it. It is in aid of this hunt that the following suggestion is respectfully submitted for consideration.

It would seem that the time has now come when the Directors of our great Libraries of printed English books should ascertain, not simply what books they have, but also *what books they ought to have.*

Such an inquiry would be greatly facilitated if some uniform System of Cataloguing were compulsorily enforced by law upon all Librarians. That System should, in the main, be the existing one of the British Museum, with the following addition :—

> That *all* the Main Titles of an Author's Works should be entered in *one* place in the Catalogue, and one *only*, and that that one place should be under the Author's *natal name*, cross-references being made to it to any extent that may be required.

We ought to be able to go into any first-class library and see *at a glance* the titles of *all* the Works of a given Author, say Nicholas Breton, that are to be found in that Library. For many books are now practically lost in our Libraries through the existing confusion of different systems of cataloguing.

Still, after ceaseless hunting through many years of time, one comes to the conviction that there are not a few books once printed in the English language, that are apparently wholly, or partially, lost, and one is conscious that there is, at present, no organized method in existence for their recovery. Of course, books that one despaired ever to see, like the First Part of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, do turn up from time to time, but this is Recovery by Chance, whereas we have now to consider Recovery by Concerted Action.

II.

Would it not, therefore, be a most useful piece of work, and one very serviceable to Literature, if, in some such serial as these *Transactions*, the present generation of Collectors, Librarians, and Bibliographers would join

hands together in some combined effort to maintain the following five Lists, all the necessary authorities being fully and exactly quoted in support thereof.

TEMPORARY LISTS OF—

a.—TOTALLY LOST ENGLISH BOOKS.

Class I.—Lost Works *that are known to have been printed in the British Isles*, in English, or in any other Language, but the texts of which are now thought not to be extant in any form whatever.

Class II.—Lost Works, relating in some way to the British Empire, *that are known to have been printed elsewhere than in the British Isles*, in English, or in any other Language, but the texts of which are now thought not to be extant in any form whatever.

b.—PARTIALLY LOST ENGLISH BOOKS.

Class III.—Partially lost Works, *whether of Class I, or of Class II*, which are now only represented to us by the fragment of an unique copy.

Class IV.—Defective First Editions, *whether of Class I, or of Class II*, all the known copies of which are imperfect, though the text may, or may not, be preserved to us in some other form.

c.—LOST EDITIONS OF ENGLISH BOOKS.

Class V.—Editions of Works, *whether of Class I, or of Class II*, which are now believed to have perished, though the text is preserved to us in some other form.

It is not to be doubted but that the preparation and maintenance of these five Lists, together with the discussions to which they would give rise, would unearth many a lost English book, which, as it was found and located,

would then be struck out of its List. It might also be that the appearance of the name of a book in one of these Lists might raise its price on its recovery, but with that Bibliographers would have nothing to do.

We are now at the end of more than a century of continuous bibliographical effort; and the time would seem to have come for completing the record of our printed literature, and for getting down to the very bottom of things.

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J. 7. 13.

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